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ABSTRACT

Alan Thomas' vision of a learning society and its implications for public policy and adult education in Canada were the driving forces in the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) for the nine years of his directorship. The most distinctive and important idea that he contributed to the field in the 1960s was that the basic concept must be adult learning, as distinct from adult education. One of the most notable principles that guided his efforts was a call for a "national policy" for adult education and adult learning. The Thomas years involved an attempt to create a national organization that retained its unitary character but that simultaneously encouraged and incorporated provincial bodies, called divisions. The forums, Joint Planning Commission, and study-discussion programs were discontinued. A Special Programs Committee was established. Active standing committees were those on residential adult education, communications, labor and education, school boards and adult education, and literacy. Other program areas included citizenship, voluntary action, human relations training, and guidance and counseling. The most substantial project undertaken was the formation and accomplishments of the Commission for the Community College. Services provided were journals, other publications, information, research, and library services. Advocacy activities on behalf of adult education continued to be stressed. (YLB)

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ALAN THOMAS AND THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION 1961 - 1970

Gordon R. Selman

Centre for Continuing Education
The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

February 1985

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ABOUT THIS SERIES AND THIS PAPER

This Occasional Paper is the twenty-fourth in a series being published by the Centre for Continuing Education. Our aim is to contribute to the field of adult education by publishing monographs which originate here at The University of British Columbia and are deemed to be worthy of reaching a wider audience than would otherwise be the case.

The author of this paper, Gordon R. Selman, is Associate Professor in Adult Education at UBC. His major research interest is the history and development of adult education in Canada and particularly in British Columbia. During the last few years he has been engaged in a long-term research project on the history of adult education in British Columbia. His research interest also includes the history of the national and provincial associations for adult education.

Gordon Selman has published numerous articles on historical aspects of adult education in Canada, among these articles concerned with the development of the field in Canada and in British Columbia, the extension work at this University and a series of articles on the pioneering days of adult education in in this province. The Canadian Association for Adult Education published his monograph A History of Fifty Years of Extension Service of The University of British Columbia, 1915 to 1965. His papers Toward Co-operation: The Development of a Provincial Voice for Adult Education in British Columbia, 1953 to 1962; Adult Education in Vancouver Before 1914; A Decade of Transition: The Extension Department of The University of British Columbia 1960 to 1970; and Adult Education in British Columbia During the Depression were published earlier in this series of Occasional Papers.

In The Canadian Association for Adult Education in the Corbett Years: A Re-evaluation (published in this series in September 1981) Gordon Selman dealt with the philosophical and ideological development of the CAAE from its founding to the retirement in 1951 of its first Director, A.E. "Ned" Corbett. He provided us with a thoughtful analysis of the further development of the Association under the capable leadership of its second Director, J. Roby Kidd, between 1951 and 1961 in Roby Kidd and the Canadian Association for Adult Education 1951-1961 (published in this series in December 1982).

This paper, which brings the history of the CAAE up to 1970, completes the study of the impact on the Association and indirectly on adult education in Canada, of the CAAE's three long-term Directors in the period 1935 to 1970. The paper is a fitting tribute to the Canadian Association for Adult Education in its fiftieth year.

I am pleased to make this paper available to a wider readership.

Jindra Kulich
Director

FOREWORD

The sixties were a complex, disturbing and exciting time for Canada. Many cherished traditions were challenged; many new voices were heard and innovations introduced. It was a time of bold actions, when much seemed possible. What was true of Canadian society as a whole had its counterpart in the Canadian Association for Adult Education under the leadership of a new voice in adult education, Alan Thomas. His vision of a learning society and its implications for public policy and adult education in this country were the driving forces in the CAAE for the nine years of his directorship. Much was attempted and much achieved.

I am grateful to many people for their assistance with this project. Alan Thomas has helped greatly through interviews and lengthy correspondence, while leaving the author free to make his own mistakes. Ian Morrison and his colleagues at the CAAE were particularly helpful in providing ready access to the Association's minute books and other records. Jindra Kulich has been the model editor, both supportive and discerning.

Sources of information for this study have been of four main types: information from individuals, most notably Alan Thomas himself; the minutes, records and reports of the CAAE for the period; the journal and other materials published by the Association; and a number of general works.

References which could be handled in the usual way are included in the text and listed in the bibliography. References to the minutes of the annual meetings (AM), the National Council (NC), Board of Directors (Bd.), the Executive Committee (Exec.) and Director's Report (DR) are listed with these abbreviations and the appropriate dates. The Association's journal, Continuous Learning, is frequently referred to as CL.

Gordon Selman

ALAN THOMAS AND THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION

1961 - 1970

THE CAAE INHERITANCE

The Canadian Association for Adult Education was established in 1935 and the story of its early years, under the direction of E.A. Corbett and Roby Kidd, has been told in some detail elsewhere (Faris, 1975; Selman 1981, 1982). Founded in the midst of the Depression, although the original intention was that it be a clearing house and an agency-serving organization, the CAAE soon became something quite different. Under Corbett's leadership, and in response to the demands of wartime conditions and subsequently, the somewhat radicalized period of reconstruction planning, the organization, in Corbett's words, "moved out of [its] Ivory Tower" (CAAE DR 1944) and began to play a direct programming and leadership role in adult education. It pioneered in the use of radio and local discussion groups for public affairs education through National Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum. It conducted experimental projects in the field of leadership training and community development. It established and led a network of national organizations active in adult education, social and cultural development, through the instrumentality of the Joint Planning Commission.

The Association, as a result of Corbett's vigorous leadership, went beyond providing citizenship education. For a time it espoused certain political and social policies itself. In what was called a "Manifesto", which was approved by its 1943 conference, the Association declared itself in favor of the expansion of public ownership and control and spoke strongly of the need for social goals to take precedence over "individual and sectional purposes of profit or advantage" (Kidd 1963, p. 108-9). The statement of such and other related ideas earned the CAAE the reputation in some circles of being leftist. Corbett simply commented that the Association "had allied [itself] with people of progressive temper" (CAAE DR 1944).

Although the position taken by the Association at this time seems less extreme when it is put against the background of the reconstruction period, it soon became clear that such a stance would not be a satisfactory basis for co-operation with a cross section of organizations in the postwar period. At a conference in 1946, the Association approved a new declaration, one which emphasized citizenship education and social animation. It sought to raise questions of public concern for examination, rather than suggest what the answers should be (Kidd 1963, pp.110-11).

After this point, the activists who sought to use the CAAE as a means of promoting leftist political and social goals tended to leave the Association. Others remained who thought of the CAAE as a movement and who wished it to contribute, in the words of the 1946 declaration, to "the imaginative training for citizenship"(Kidd 1963, p.109).

Corbett retired from the directorship of the organization in 1951 and was replaced by Dr. Roby Kidd, who had been Associate Director for four years. Kidd was as committed to the citizenship education role of the Association as Corbett had been, but he added other dimensions as well. Kidd had been the first Canadian to gain a doctoral degree in the field of adult education and some of his chief contributions relate generally to the professionalization of the field.

Kidd saw that if the CAAE was to be able to provide leadership for the field over a broad front, it could not be partisan on the public issues of the day. He declared in his first annual report that the Association was not and could not be "the radical agency of social action" which some might prefer (CAAE DR 1952). Its advocacy must be on behalf of adult education. Kidd gave strong support, however, to the citizenship education projects, Farm and Citizens' Forum, the Joint Planning Commission and several other citizenship-related programs. He also spearheaded a vigorous series of advocacy activities involving submissions on behalf of the interests of adult learners to a variety of royal commissions and other public bodies.

Perhaps the most significant new dimension of Kidd's leadership was that of promoting the professionalization of the field. He emphasized the need for training in all his dealings with adult educators and their employers. He was extremely active in organizing and teaching training activities for practitioners. He taught university credit courses in the field at a number of Canadian universities, several of these being the first course on the subject given by those institutions. He raised funds from several sources to support Canadian adult educators in their career development. Kidd also was active in promoting the institutional development of the field, most notably in persuading provincial departments of education, school boards and universities to support and develop their adult education programs. He experimented with methodology in the field, pioneering the use in Canada of study-discussion programs in the liberal arts and public affairs. He also wrote and had published a great deal of material which was useful to practitioners. This included manuals of practice, descriptive material about the nature of adult education in Canada and a widely used textbook for the field. Kidd also encouraged, by various means, the formation of provincial associations of adult educators, arranging for them to have affiliation with the CAAE.

The other important dimension of Kidd's leadership was involvement in the international aspects of the field. Increasingly, as the decade of his directorship progressed, he--and through him, the CAAE--played an active part in international developments. He spent most of a year in the West Indies (1957-58) as consultant to the University College (as it then was), a time he subsequently referred to as his apprenticeship in the work of international development (Selman 1982). He became actively involved in the work of UNESCO, serving as chairman of its advisory committee on the field, and in 1960 acted as President of UNESCO's Second World Conference on Adult Education, which was held in Montreal. His skilled and diplomatic leadership saved the conference from foundering on cold war tensions, which it was widely predicted would ruin the meeting, and Kidd emerged as perhaps the best known adult educator in the world.

When Arthur Pigott (on a brief interim basis) and shortly thereafter, Alan Thomas, took over the directorship of the CAAE, they were stepping into large shoes. Corbett had been a charismatic, creative leader, whose major program innovations, the two Forum projects and the Joint Planning Commission, gained international reputations for excellence. Kidd pioneered other programs, skilfully promoted the professionalization and institutionalization of adult education and became a major world figure in the field by the time he left the Association. Anyone who was in the position of following these two leaders and who was anxious to make a significant contribution in his own right must have seen the task as a large one.

THE SIXTIES

"The Sixties", perhaps to a degree only exceeded by "The Thirties", is a decade the very name of which conjures up the flavor of the times. The sixties in Canada were a time of accelerated change, of chaos, of participatory democracy, of co-operative federalism, populist movements, the counterculture, the War on Poverty, the Quiet Revolution and what has been termed the "youthquake" (Edmonds 1979, p.25ff.). The traditional ways of the liberal democratic system were repeatedly challenged. As novelist Hugh MacLennan put it late in the decade, "We find ourselves cursed by the young for all the things we were proud of"(Quoted in Bothwell et al 1981, p.334).

It was a decade of economic prosperity, in overall terms, with considerable progress as well in social legislation (Brebner 1970). Such conditions might

suggest times in which there was political stability and a pursuit of private interests, but though such may have been the ways of a silent majority, many Canadians, often spurred on by a New Left which was dominated by the young, contributed to the sixties becoming a decade of intense political involvement (Granatstein 1983). Bothwell and colleagues (1981) have pointed out that both the New Left and society generally were dominated by the young and that

> this gave the decade its predominant image, that of a boisterous uprising of the young that threatened and sometimes tumbled over the fundamental institutions of our society (p.334).

Certainly the times brought unaccustomed political instability to Canada. The decade began with John Diefenbaker as Prime Minister. He was replaced by the Liberals under Lester Pearson in 1963, who was succeeded as leader of the party and Prime Minister by Pierre Trudeau in 1968. When Trudeau won a majority in the House of Commons later in the same year, it was the first majority government Canada had elected since ten years before. It was a time of great political unrest and strong citizen movements outside the traditional party and decision-making structures. Mass demonstrations, direct political confrontations and "media events" came to be a common style of operation. As Bothwell and his colleagues put it, "form was as important as content"(1981, p.256).

But the content was strong stuff too. The increasing realization of the extent of poverty and its attendant evils in Canada engendered responses of many kinds, from both government and populist movements. The women's movement gathered momentum during the decade. Concern was felt by many about the increasing domination of sectors of the Canadian economy by American capital and head office control. While Canadians were largely bystanders with respect to the Vietnan war, which gave rise to so much protest in the United States, it had its effects here as well, and Canadians were also concerned with related issues of disarmament and regional defence agreements. Environmental concerns emerged strongly during the decade, as did matters of human rights.

In addition to these large issues, many of which were common to all countries or at least the industrialized ones, Canada had its own unique problems, most prominently perhaps,the social, cultural and political adjustments made necessary by the Quiet Revolution in Quebec and the changing expectations and demands of French Canadians within Canadian society. Government responded in various ways to Quebec's aspirations, in matters of language policy as well as a "co-operative federalism" which led Ottawa to accord Quebec a special status within Confederation. For this and other reasons, the other provinces made new demands for resources and consultation and there was a significant movement in the direction

of the decentralization of power in Confederation to the provinces (Armour 1981; Bothwell et al 1981).

There was a strong belief in Canada in the beneficial effects of education. When to this was added the shock the Western countries received when the U.S.S.R. was the first to launch a global satellite in 1957, fresh impetus was given to the need to expand and improve Canadian educational systems and practices. In the field of vocational and technical education, this led to two major pieces of federal legislation, the Technical and Vocational Training Act of 1960 and the Adult Occupational Training Act of 1967, the former making possible a massive expansion of facilities and programs and the second moving the federal government into a new and more direct role in the provision of training and the selection of students.

There were dramatic changes in the general educational systems as well, perhaps more than in any other comparable period in our history (Stevenson 1973). Most striking are the statistics of post-secondary education enrollments during the sixties, as the postwar baby boom children came of age and public policy supported the expansion of educational facilities. There were 15 major provincial commissions on education between 1960 and 1973 (Wilson 1977). There was in this period great faith in the efficacy of education in supporting personal, social and economic development (Myers 1973; Stevenson 1973) and the public systems expanded enormously, most notably the universities and community colleges. There were 12 new universities founded between 1959 and 1966 (Kettle 1980) and full-time enrollments in universities increased from 106,000 in 1960 to 330,000 in 1970 (Granatstein 1983). The percentage of the GNP which was devoted to education rose from 4.3 in 1961 to 7.6 in 1969, and education's share of the expenditures of all levels of government in Canada rose from 14 per cent in 1961 to 22 in 1971-72 (Pike 1981).

Even more dramatic were the developments concerning the community college, a movement with which the CAAE was closely connected. In 1958 there was only one college in the country, but by 1970, with major developments in Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec, the number had increased to 130 colleges and related institutions (Dennison 1981; Martin and Macdonell 1978). The adult education movement had a particular interest in the community college because of its clear commitment to serving the needs of adult students and to responding to a wide variety of needs as expressed in the community. That such a phenomenal development of institution building could take place during this period was made possible by widespread belief in the benefits of education and the co-operation of both senior levels of government.

Education, according to the constitution, was a provincial responsibility, but it was one of several fields in which the provincial and federal levels of government had developed a shared leadership. Some of the reasons for the federal participation in this field are suggested by H.A. Stevenson (1981, p.270):

> Since 1960, however, the federal government has developed a massive involvement in education because many national policies such as manpower training, multi-culturalism, bi-lingualism, research priorities, equalizing regional inequities, culture and the economy, involve education and the best interests of all Canadians regardless of where they live.

In terms which perhaps relate to the CAAE's efforts in the period to create a unitary national organization, Stevenson has referred elsewhere to "the truly national dimensions of most educational problems" and to the fact that in the early 1960s Canadians felt "a national dimension" to educational concerns (1973, pp.57,59). During the sixties, the federal government's share of the cost of post-secondary education rose from 23 per cent in 1960 to 46 per cent by 1969 (Martin and Macdonell 1978).

Of particular relevance to this study are the major measures taken during the decade in the field of vocational and technical training. Canada shared with other Western nations concern over relatively high unemployment rates and about the level and quality of training in the work force. The Act passed by the Diefenbaker government in 1960 provided for Ottawa to contribute 75 per cent of the capital costs and 50 per cent of the operating costs of a wide range of vocational and technical training facilities and programs. Some impression of the scale of operations under this Act is provided by the fact that by early 1967, the federal and provincial governments had agreed on projects valued at $1,476,000,000, provided 662 new institutions and 439,952 new places for students (Stamp 1970). Although much useful work was accomplished, there remained the problem of resentment, in some provincial quarters, over the fact that this federal legislation had the effect of forcing the hand of the provinces in a field which it was generally assumed was a provincial responsibility. At a federal-provincial conference in 1966, Prime Minister Pearson announced that his government intended to change the rules of the game. He stated that "manpower training was not 'education' in the constitutional sense" and that the federal government was going to move into a direct role in determining training needs, selecting students for training, purchasing training for them, and providing training allowances, as required (Doerr 1981, p.48). These arrangements were provided for in the Act passed the following year.

There was also during the sixties an increasing realization of the extent of illiteracy and undereducation in the Canadian population. The facts revealed

by the 1961 census (Adamson 1966) were reinforced as the decade progressed by the discovery of how many people who qualified for vocational training under the federal legislation did not have a basic education that was adequate to enable them to take advantage of such training. Federal financing of adult basic education increased rapidly under the 1960 legislation and with the change of federal policy in 1966-67 and the "War on Poverty" thrust of the government, commitment to this work increased and programs for the educationally disadvantaged, through the NewStart Corporations (Sloan 1972) and by other means, were expanded greatly (Brooke 1972).

Another significant development during the 1960s was the emergence of community development as a means of bringing about social change and the improvement of the quality of individual and community life. Relying on techniques developed by the United Nations and others in the Third World, community development was suited to the desire for social improvement and democratic participation so typical of the 1960s and from its Canadian beginnings in Manitoba in 1960 (Legasse 1971; Lotz 1977) it was widely used elsewhere in the country, frequently financed by federal funds under the Agricultural Reconstruction and Development Act, or other measures (Draper 1971).

As a result of the foregoing developments, the field of adult education and the number of persons working as adult educators expanded enormously during the 1960s. The expansion of the formal systems led to greatly increased provision by school boards, colleges and universities in this field. Major developments such as those described above in the fields of vocational training, adult basic education and community development added to the field, as did a wide range of voluntary organizations and movements. University training programs for adult educators, the first of which had been inaugurated at The University of British Columbia in 1957, were established in the following decade at several other institutions across the country. Research activities increased rapidly (Draper 1978b).

The Canadian Association for Adult Education was seeking to provide support and leadership to a rapidly growing and diversifying field of educational activity. Education has been termed "the golden haired child of the fifties and sixties" (Myers 1973, p.60) and adult education shared in that rapid expansion. A field which according to educational historians had "lost much of its amateur status" by the late fifties (Wilson et al 1970, p.412), experienced further major expansion in the sixties and became an important instrument in government strategy with respect to the goals of public policy. In such a time of emerging, unaccustomed prominence, it was advantageous for the movement to have at the head of the CAAE

a person of such intellectual range and large ambition, not for himself, but for the role of adult education and adult learning in the life of the country.

ALAN THOMAS: ENDS AND MEANS

When Alan Thomas joined the staff of the CAAE in the fall of 1961, he felt he was "going home"(Thomas, personal communication, Mar.10,1982). He had worked for the Association in the mid-fifties as director of an experimental project in study-discussion programs (Selman 1982), after two earlier years as educational representative for a book publishing company. He had left the CAAE in 1955 to pursue a doctorate in adult education at Columbia University and then for five years worked at The University of British Columbia, giving part time to teaching in the Faculty of Education and part to directing a program in communications in the Department of University Extension. During his UBC years, he kept in close touch with the CAAE and its Director, Roby Kidd, and contributed a number of articles to the Association's journal, Food For Thought. In September of 1961, he rejoined the staff of the CAAE as Associate Executive Director to Mr. Arthur Pigott, who had been Director since Roby Kidd's departure at the end of April. It was the general expectation, when Thomas joined the staff, that he would before long move into the directorship, Pigott not being a professional adult educator and having been seen as a caretaker appointment. In the summer of 1962, it was decided for financial and other reasons to discontinue the existing arrangement, Arthur Pigott resigned and Thomas became Director as of September 1. He continued in that post until the end of February 1970.

Thomas was 33 years old when he rejoined the staff of the Association. He was bright, quick-thinking and an able speaker, appealing to most people, but seen by some as brash and "too intellectual". He soon corrected that impression, on closer acquaintance, and inspired friendship with large numbers of people across the country and loyalty on the part of many.

It seems difficult to imagine anyone assuming responsibility for the CAAE with larger ambitions than Thomas held. From his position as Director of this small and impoverished organization, Thomas set out to move the CAAE to the forefront of national policy development and as he later put it, "to attach learning to all matters of public policy"(personal communication, Mar.10,1982). He sought to convince both policy makers in the country as a whole, especially at the federal level, and adult educators too, of the potential of adult learning as a force in human affairs (personal communication, Aug.10,1983). In his view

adult educators were "riding a tiger", the tiger being the potential of adult learning, and he set out to use the CAAE as an instrument to bring that message to Canadians.

Commensurate with the scale of his ambitions, Thomas approached his mission with great flair and energy. He was seemingly tireless in his willingness to travel back and forth across the country to speak to a wide variety of audiences, to spend time in Ottawa, seeking to influence decision-makers there, and to write about his ideas. He redesigned and generally spruced up the Association's journal, hoping to reach a wider national audience; he styled the Association's library and information resources as the "National Research Library in Adult Education"; he renamed the offices of the Association as "Corbett House" and was successful in getting the federal Secretary of State to take part in the opening ceremonies; he instituted a series of annual reviews of adult education developments in Canada; he conceived of the publication of a policy statement about adult learning in Canada and arranged for its release by means of press conferences in all sections of the country; he saw the imminent emergence of the community college in Canada and sought to place the CAAE at the forefront of planning in that connection. Thomas thought in big terms about the potential of adult learning and about the leadership role of the CAAE and he pursued those goals with remarkable imagination and energy, reshaping the Association as an instrument to these ends.

Although the CAAE had from its creation, in the persons of E.A. Corbett and Roby Kidd, strong and extremely able leadership, at no time had the views and ideas of the Director been more dominant in the activities of the Association than during the Thomas years. It was not that Thomas set out to dominate the organization as an end in itself; rather he had ideas and convictions which he strongly wished to pursue--on behalf of adult education and the Association--and the CAAE was a means to those ends. Thomas' ideas were well known to the governing bodies of the Association before he was appointed; he had written and spoken widely about them and had made them abundantly clear in his year as Associate Director. The Association clearly knew what style and content would characterize Thomas' leadership--and liked what it saw.

The Learning Society

The most distinctive and important idea which Alan Thomas contributed to the field in this period was that the basic concept must be adult learning, as distinct from adult education. Learning is what has effects in the minds and lives of people; education consists of the deliberate efforts to promote or facilitate

learning. Learning takes place everywhere in life, not just in educational programs and institutions, and it is learning that counts.

This emphasis on learning, and the implications of widening the field's concerns to include all the aspects of society which have an effect on learning, was the key to Thomas' professional activities (Thomas 1970b; 1980; 1981; 1983). He developed these ideas into coherent form in 1961, presented them to others by means of three major statements in that year, and amplified and applied them further throughout his directorship of the Association.

Some of his ideas--the emphasis on learning rather than education, the concern for the educative influences of forces in the society over and above the avowedly educational ones (the power of the media, the workplace, citizenship and other responsibilities) and the emphasis on the role of learning over the whole life span--were expounded by Thomas approximately a decade before they came into prominence in the field. Experts in adult education (Houle 1984; Kallen 1979) generally date the emergence of these ideas in the early seventies, with the publication of Lengrand's (1970) essay on lifelong education and the report of UNESCO's International Commission on the Development of Education (Faure 1972), and other developments. While the idea of "the learning society", as he entitled his major address in 1961, hardly originated with him in many of its dimensions--ideas of this kind can generally not be traced to any one person--Thomas' ideas burst upon the adult education scene in Canada as fresh and original. Thomas himself does not know with any clarity what led him to these ideas. He had been impressed by John Dewey's thought and had developed aspects of it in his masters thesis. He had been impressed during his short employment in the book trade with the differences between what people learned and were interested in, and the school curriculum. And he considers that the influences of Marshall McLuhan, under whom he studied as an undergraduate, and Roby Kidd, with whom he had worked in the mid-fifties at the CAAE, had been important (personal communication, Dec.9,1983).

There are four major statements written by Thomas in this period which outline his ideas. The first three were written in the spring and summer of 1961. They were a keynote address given on May 11 to the conference of the B.C. Adult Education Council (he was still living in B.C. at the time) under the title, "The Learning Society"(Thomas 1961g); an article published in the Parameter column of the CAAE's journal in the May-June issue of 1961 (Thomas 1961f), and his address, also under the title of "The Learning Society", to the bilingual national conference on adult education held in Ottawa in late October of that year (In CAAE/ICEA 1961). The fourth statement was the White Paper on the Education of Adults in Canada, which was published by the Association in 1966.

In addition to these four general statements, one may find his ideas applied to more specific contexts throughout his editorials and articles in the CAAE's journal during his tenure, other speeches and papers, and in the submissions made by the Association to royal commissions and other public bodies.

The National Conference on Adult Education, which was held in Ottawa beginning on October 30, 1961, was an unprecedented event. It was co-sponsored by the two national adult education organizations, the CAAE and the Institut Canadien d'Education des Adultes (ICEA), functioned bilingually, and was the only one of its kind ever held in Canada. Leading personalities from the English and French speaking communities were invited to give the keynote addresses and it is evidence of the recognition of Alan Thomas' intellectual leadership in the field that he was invited to give the English address. His major themes had already been stated in his speech in British Columbia and in several articles which had appeared in Food For Thought (1961b, 1961c, 1961d, 1961e, 1961f). In his address, Thomas paid tribute to the strong tradition of adult education in Canada, but stated that the nation was at present facing a "crisis of role, of character and of identity" of major proportions. It had need to call on that tradition of adult learning (CAAE/ICEA 1961, p.16):

> It is our belief that we can revitalize this tradition and make this capacity for learning the foundation of Canadian society. We therefore offer as our central concern, not education, in its formal and institutional sense, but learning. Whatever the explicit and various goals of the multitude of agencies which we here are associated with or represent, we have one common concern, the ability of human beings to learn continuously, and the conditions under which learning best takes place. These conditions are the foundation of the learning society. It is the stimulation and encouragement of this unique human capacity throughout the whole of an individual life which is the core of our concern; and which can be the core of the entire country.

Thomas repeatedly during the decade made the point that learning far exceeds the limits of education, and at various times he made great claims for the potential and power of learning:

> The only human, dignified way to respond to change is by learning (1961d, p.264).
>
> Democracy depends on learning (1961e, p.316).
>
> Learning, the true currency of post-industrial society....(1961d, p.264).
>
> Learning must be the true cornerstone of national policy (1962e, p.191).
>
> Learning together always breeds effective relationships among men (1964c, p.53).
>
> ...A whole new moral code, of which learning and competence are the cornerstones (1965, p.3).

> Learning is of course the only alternative to revolution (1961g, p.3).
>
> ...For surely most adult educators are aware that the morality lies in the learning, in the activity itself, and not in the effect of the subject matter (1966b, p.51).
>
> In every act of learning there is both an act of surrender and a great release of energy (1970, p.4).

Thomas suggested a view of Canadian history as seen from the point of view of learning. He pointed out that the Canadian people, like all people, have responsed to the crises in their national life, in part by learning. The two World Wars, the Depression and other events have brought a response on a massive scale in the form of learning (Thomas 1961). By this means, the nation has risen to the challenges. He summed up this view (1970b, p.232):

> Canada has been dominated from the outset by two overwhelming demands on human adaptation, learning--pioneering and immigration.

And to these two factors he subsequently added a third, industrialization (1970b, p.234).

Learning must become "the cornerstone of national policy", he stated (1962e, p.191). "We have only begun to see the potential of free people learning all their lives long"(CAAE AR 1965-66, p.9). A strong element in Thomas' thinking was the importance of citizenship education and the role of learning in a democratic society. His interpretation of the tumultuous 1960s, written at the end of the decade, again stresses the centrality of learning (1970, p.2):

> What we have seen individually and collectively has been and remains a renaissance, we have seen learning bursting free from the institutions of the society and confronting them one after another, in particular, confronting the institutions of education.

In the fourth of Thomas' major statements, the White Paper issued by the Association in 1966, an effort was made to work out these ideas about learning as they related to public policy. Some aspects of this will be dealt with in the section on policy below, but it should be stated here that there was a clear commitment to what might be termed both a life-wide and a lifelong view of learning; that learning must be part of living throughout the life span and also that institutions of all kinds, not just those designated as educational, must play a role in promoting learning (CAAE 1966b). Thomas referred to this White Paper as the Association's "intellectual reference point" and he added, "We have only begun to see the potential of free people learning their lives long"(CAAE AR 1965-66, pp.4,9).

Something of the sweep of Thomas' ideas concerning the field of adult

education may be seen in the peroration of his address to the 1961 conference (CAAE/ICEA 1961, p.20):

> We have offered this image of the learning society in Canada for two reasons. First, because we believe our country has some unique opportunities which we are not at present realizing. Second, because we think the same fact is true of the adult educators in Canada. We are convinced that not only Canada but adult educators face awesome alternatives. We, as educators, can continue to run other people's errands, to jump when some other major institution or power wills and rush to do its bidding; we can remain, hat-in-hand, grateful for every small amount of support society chooses to give us--and we can leave this new energy, released by the greater demands of learning, undirected and unfulfilled. Or we can speak reasonably but with force and conviction to our citizens of the vision that the learning society affords, of the possibilities we have all seen arising from the determined nourishing of this capacity, and begin to realize the particular heritage that as a western, industrial, immigrant, pioneering society is ours alone to realize. We have said before that only the adult educators can do it if they choose. We commend this exhilarating prospect to this conference, to each and every one of our colleagues.

It seems clear that many of Thomas' colleagues were greatly attracted to his ideas, his vision of the centrality of learning and its power for both individuals and society. This was confirmed, at least as far as the affairs of the Association were concerned, by the fact that his ideas come through clearly in the advocacy activities of the Association, including most notably, the White Paper of 1966. But there were critics as well. A few voices were raised from more traditional quarters, which were uneasy with Thomas' view of the dominance of learning in human development. This seemed to be criticism based on a matter of degree. More basic was the criticism which came from the left. Thomas could appropriately be termed a liberal in social and political philosophy. His tendency was to see the world in terms of the individual and to seek changes in public, professional and institutional policies which would best serve the needs of individuals. Those from the left felt that Thomas' ideas did not go far enough and did not speak adequately to basic structural problems in society. Thomas once referred to the CAAE as being "respectably radical"(CL 5,1, 1966, p.32), but there were few, if any, real radicals active in the CAAE in this period. Thomas' ideas dominated the work of the Association during his tenure as Director and what criticism there was on ideological grounds--and there was little of it--came largely from elsewhere.

A National Policy

In his "Learning Society" speech to the 1961 national conference, Thomas stated many of the principles which were to guide his efforts during the decade. One of the most notable of these was a call for what he often termed a "national policy" for adult education and adult learning. He stated in 1961 that (CAAE/ICEA 1961, p.14)

> Adult education has in a few years been transformed from an idealistic, determined, intermittent, fringe enterprise to a central, practical, everyday—if little understood--concern of many individuals and organizations.

A component of society as important as this should not be obstructed in its development by the constitutional arrangements which assigned responsibility for "the education of children" to the provinces. The need was for national policies and "a national governmental structure designed not to impede continuous learning but to support it" (CAAE/ICEA 1961, p.16). He returned to this theme repeatedly during the decade, the reference usually being to a national policy rather than to federal government structures. As the federal leadership in technical and vocational leadership developed, under the terms of the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act of 1960, Thomas hailed the federal role. In 1962, he urged the federal government, through the pages of Continuous Learning, the Association's journal, not to give in to provincial complaints but to continue its leadership role (1962b). The following year he declared in an editorial that continuing education had "become inextricably a matter of national policy" (1963d, p.101).

While it may seem contradictory that Thomas was on the one hand very sensitive to the feelings of Quebec and working energetically to build closer associations between the CAAE and the ICEA, and at the same time pressing for a national policy concerning adult education, a passage from an address given in 1963 gives some indication of his thinking (1963f, p.182):

> Adult education has become a matter of national policy....There is hardly a department of the Federal Government which is not engaged in education of some kind....The elaborate terminology used to conceal this fact, brought about by constitutional jitters, surely fools no one, particularly Quebec. I am convinced that Quebec in particular, partly because of the educational revolution now sweeping that province, would welcome a properly conceived, nationally planned and provincially administered system of continuing education.

In editorials in successive issues of Continuous Learning the following year (Thomas 1964e; 1964f), Thomas returned to the theme, taking his lead from the

"War on Poverty" policies then declared by the Johnson government in the United States. He called for clear, forthright leadership in Canada and declared that a commitment to a learning society would be a commendable national policy for Canada. He went on to portray new federal programs emerging in Indian Affairs and the Agricultural Reconstruction and Development Agency as suitable components in such a policy.

The most substantial effort made by the CAAE in the decade to outline the features of a national policy was the White Paper on the Education of Adults in Canada, which was released in the spring of 1966 (CAAE 1966b). It called for "an articulated system of continuing education" for Canada, "a comprehensive national development" and "a logical national plan", one which was developed co-operatively between Ottawa and the provinces. The paper suggests a series of guiding principles for such a system, examines the roles to be played by educational institutions, governments, the voluntary and business sectors, and makes suggestions about matters of administration, research, professional development and finance. There is a final appeal for the development of a national policy along the lines suggested. Unprecedented efforts were made to publicize this White Paper and it was the most ambitious single effort by the Association, and Thomas himself, who wrote the statement, to convince the governmental and educational establishments about a national policy.

Later in the same year, there were grounds for encouragement. At the federal-provincial conference in the fall, the Pearson government announced that it was expanding its role in vocational training under its powers in the constitution related to promoting economic development (Bothwell et al 1981, pp.313-14) and these measures were implemented in the Adult Occupational Training Act of 1967. When the new bill was introduced, Thomas commented editorially as to the significance of the federal government taking "direct control of a great range of adult education, labelled occupational training" and welcomed this federal initiative, "because we believe that it is education, and because a national initiative in education is important to all of us" (Thomas 1967c, pp.50,53). In an attempt some 15 years later to identify the various stages in the development of adult education in Canada, Thomas saw the 1967 Act as the watershed event, marking the realization on the part of the federal government that it had to take on more active leadership in this field (Thomas 1981b).

Other Advocacy

A great deal of thought and energy during the decade went into the CAAE's efforts to represent the interests of adult education and the adult learner in

dealing with matters of federal policy. The Association had consistently over the years played an active role of this kind (Selman 1981, 1982) and if anything, this activity was even more prominent during the sixties. Thomas had not only the traditional views of the adult education movement to speak for, but also his particular vision of the place of learning and the characteristics of a learning society.

The details, in terms of bodies to which representations were made, are dealt with in a later section. What may be pointed out here, however, is that the efforts of the Association took four main forms. The first was the continuing effort, which had been made sporadically over the years, to persuade the federal government to provide a direct supporting grant to the Association. Thomas and his predecessor, Roby Kidd, had been successful in getting many project grants from departments of the federal government, but it was not until 1966, after a meeting of Thomas and small group of the officers with Prime Minister Pearson, that a federal grant for the general or administrative functions of the Association was achieved, initially for a five year period. This effort was made in close consultation with the sister organization, the ICEA, and both received annual grants beginning at this time.

The second aspect of advocacy was the traditional role of making submissions to public bodies on behalf of adult education, as circumstances made that appropriate. The list of such briefs is provided elsewhere in this study and in the turbulent and in some respects chaotic years of the sixties, there were many such opportunities. With the demise during the decade of Farm and Citizens' Forum and of the Joint Planning Commission, and because of Thomas' views and interest, the Association's advocacy efforts were focussed more predominantly than ever before on matters related to public policy as it affected the adult learner (Thomas 1980). There were significant opportunities to put the case before such bodies as the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Senate Committee on Manpower and Unemployment, the Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting, and the federal Task Force on Government Information, to name only a few.

A third category of advocacy, one to which Thomas gave a great deal of time in certain periods, is that of advising or persuading such public bodies to conduct their activities in such a way that there were maximum opportunities for the general public to both participate in the hearings and also learn from the process. The efforts in this connection constituted a new type of activity for the Association and the practical results during the period gave grounds for satisfaction.

The fourth type of advocacy was made possible by the fact that during the decade, a large number of significant national conferences were held on aspects of Canadian life. These included conferences on education, resources, children, the family and at least ten more subjects. Leaders of the Association played an active part in many of these, most notably Thomas himself, who had earned a reputation as an outstanding conference planner, speaker and conference summarizer. By this means, adult education and adult learning were brought to the attention of many other active groups in Canada.

The Thomas years were extremely active ones in these areas, particularly 1965 to 1967, when a number of the foregoing efforts came to a head. In his annual report for 1966-67, Thomas even stated that the preoccupation with policy matters during the year had curtailed the other program activities of the organization. In words he used some years later in addressing the Association, Thomas displayed at this time "a determination to inject learning into the political process itself"(Thomas 1980, p.9).

Citizenship Education and National Unity

Since its earliest years, the CAAE had played an outstanding role in citizenship education activities. The Forum projects had brought credit to the Association at home and abroad. Thomas was no less committed to citizenship education than his predecessors, but the forms which it took were different. Citizen participation in activities related to the great issues of the day--the environment, human rights, the women's movement, disarmament, etc.--were the hallmark of the decade. Thomas stressed the learning component of citizenship, the emerging community development movement and a major project on volunteerism in Canadian society, all of which are described below.

Of particular importance during the Thomas years were the activities involving the reports of certain public bodies. Especially after the termination of Citizens' Forum when the expert editorial skills of Mrs. Isabel Wilson became available for other duties, the CAAE began to publish summaries of major royal commission reports, such as the Commission on Health Services and the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and in a variety of ways to interest Canadians in giving close attention and study to these documents.

The report of the latter commission was on a subject of particular interest to Thomas. As explained elsewhere, he had close ties with the province of Quebec and deep affection for the French language and culture. He invested a great deal of effort in building satisfactory relationships between the CAAE and the ICEA.

And as the strains on Canadian confederation developed during the decade, Thomas felt deeply involved personally in the outcome and took a great deal of interest in the procedures and the content of the "Bi and Bi Commission". He devoted much space in Continuous Learning to the issues involved. He persuaded the officers of the commission to take a second look at their intended procedures for the involvement of the public and personally carried out a contract the Association secured for the evaluation of the first four public hearings. Something of the depth of Thomas' feelings on the subject was revealed by a moving comment on the task of the commission published soon after it was appointed and which appeared in the journal under the nom de plume, "Saxon Roland". He dispatched with scorn the English Canadian tendency to pose the question, "What do the French Canadians want?". He stated the issue more broadly, and commented (Thomas 1963h, p.211):

> It will not be settled without deep and profound changes in the way we behave, in the way we imagine Canada, and in the way we perceive ourselves. It is a question of what we want, and it is time we began to pursue this investigation, for this is fundamentally what the French want to hear.

The Profession

The 1950s have been described as a period in which adult education emerged professionally in Canada (Selman 1982; Wilson et al 1970). That process was of course still under way during the following decade. Thomas had himself earned a doctoral degree in the field (he completed his dissertation and received his degree in 1964), he established the first degree program in the field in Canada (at The University of British Columbia, in 1957) and he was a very stimulating and admired teacher. A review of his copious writings while Director of the CAAE leaves one with the impression that he was speaking at least as much, perhaps more, to his fellow adult educators as he was to the rest of society. Like his predecessor, Roby Kidd, he strove to convince those working in adult education to take their vocation seriously in the sense of attempting to master the increasing knowledge available about the field of practice. To this, Thomas added the particular vision he had of the learning society and the role which those working in the field could play in helping to bring it about.

Thomas used all the means at his disposal to persuade adult educators of the significance of their calling. Conferences, standing committees of the Association, specialized newsletters for sections of the field, the pages of Continuous Learning; all these were employed as a means of communicating to the field. At the same time, he frequently reminded all who would listen of the

historical roots of adult education as a social movement and the significance of learning as a means of improving the society.

Thomas taught a great deal during his time as Director and promoted the training of adult educators in many ways. In his first attempt to write an "annual review" of adult education developments in the country, published in the fall of 1964, he reviewed many aspects of the field and when he came to the training of adult educators, he termed it "the most troubled area of all"(1964i, p.204). He published articles about the development of professional training in Canada and as editor of the Association's journal carried annual directories of training opportunities for several years. A major conference sponsored by the Association was devoted to the subject in 1966 (CAAE 1966). He also demonstrated his interest in the field by preparing in 1963 on behalf of the Association a submission to the Kellogg Foundation for a $242,000, five year project, which would have provided a "national program for training and development"(CAAE Exec. June 27,1963). He established and supported a standing committee on research and training, which functioned throughout the period, and a standing committee of professors (of adult education), which was formed in 1967 but seemed to meet infrequently.

Thomas made a concerted effort during the decade to bring to the attention of adult educators new and emerging challenges to the field. In his second annual review of the field, he wrote of "a series of intellectual comets that have flashed across the sky" and he referred to leisure, poverty, automation, women, community colleges, bilingualism and biculturalism, youth and aging, all of which were areas in which adult education had a role to play (1965e, p.193). To this list he added others on occasion--employment, health and communications, to name three. About all these areas, he published articles, articulated comments on public policy and generally attempted to bring the issues and their educational implications to the attention of practitioners.

There was a dimension of this which proved troublesome on occasion. Thomas' view of learning and those who are concerned with learning was very inclusive. On occasion, when he made proposals to his board and executive concerning projects which involved co-operation with groups outside the traditional adult education circles, he was challenged and had to tread warily. It will be seen below that this matter arose in connection with the guidance and counselling group, the human relations trainers and some elements of the community college project. In an editorial he wrote in the spring of 1963, he somewhat pointedly asked, "Are we to remain only among our old and important associates, or actively

seek new ones?" (1963d, p.101). He was clearly still having to sell his concept of the learning society and the role of the Association in promoting it.

Thomas took seriously the role of the Association in providing professional service to the field in the form of information and research facilities. The efforts to build up the library of the Association as a research centre for the field in Canada and the publication of a variety of newsletters to meet the needs of specialized groups of practitioners were ambitious, given the resources of the organization. He saw these professional activities as crucial. "It is our ability here that either will ensure us a commanding place in adult education or condemn us to watch the steady erosion of any imaginative unity in adult education" (CAAE Bd. Jan.21-23,1966).

The Association and its Program

Thomas saw--and used--the CAAE as a strategic place from which to influence both the field of adult education and the wider community. It was a small organization, with slender resources, one which threatened no one. It had links all across the country with its provincial divisions and could also "free wheel" at the national level, where there was no constituted authority in the field of education and where it was possible to exercise influence both personally and in the name of the Association, during a decade in which many new ideas were being sought and experimented with by government.

Thomas cared deeply about the CAAE and had hoped to return to it ever since he had worked there with Roby Kidd and others in the mid-fifties. He had large ambitions, not only for adult education and adult learning, but also for the CAAE itself. He hoped that by making the CAAE an instrument through which the concept of the learning society could be developed and promoted, the Association could, as he said in an editorial in 1963, "re-establish itself as a valuable, even indispensable factor in Canada" (1963d, p.100). In his first attempt at an annual review of the field, in 1964, he described the goals of the CAAE, "the unity of the field; the competence of the agents of adult education; and the application of the imagination of the country to the possibilities of continuous learning" (1964i, p.204). That the third of these goals received so much emphasis during the years of his directorship meant that the organization did not become what its counterpart organization in the United States became, one devoted largely to serving the needs of a professional membership (McClusky 1982), but one which retained many of the characteristics of a movement. The announcement of the crucial 1968 CAAE conference stated, "The CAAE is an Association that is

a movement" (CL 7,4, 1968, p.145). In his report to that same conference, the Director asked those attending a series of pointed questions, two of which were (CAAE AM June 6-8,1968):

- Has the movement quality really vanished and is it romantic to hope to maintain it? Are we prepared to make sacrifices for the support of the Association...?
- Is membership basically a purchase of professional services, or a symbol of the wish to participate in the affairs of an organized movement whose first responsibility is to the community and to learning?

Elsewhere in the same year, Thomas called for the reinforcement of "the quality of movement" in the Association (CAAE AR 1967-68, p.61).

Something of the nature and seriousness of Thomas' aims for the Association is revealed by this excerpt from his speech to the CAAE conference in Vancouver in 1966 (CAAE 1966, p.61):

> This is the essence of the Association....It is the attempt to make learning, the potential we all hold all our lives, effective in an organized way, at the most crucial frontiers and crevices of individual and social lives. To make it valuable, not as preparation for some undetermined future event, but as a replacement for hate, violence and destruction of other views, other ways, other hopes.
>
> The relationship of learning and loving has been clearly part of the life of the Association. It has been the attempt to create in a small way the true learning society which we hope to bring about in Canada.

In order to work effectively on behalf of this vision of the CAAE and its goals, Thomas felt he needed to reorganize the Association. He needed a smaller, more professional governing body than the old National Council, and with the constitutional changes of 1963, this was accomplished. He also sought a truly national organization in which provincial interests played a part, but were part of a unitary whole rather than of a loose federation. This was achieved in the form of the divisional structure, which included provincial representation on the smaller, more professional Board of Directors.

Basic to the functioning of the Association and always an elusive target, was achieving a sound and secure financial basis for its work. Of no small importance in the decision to create the divisional structure was the hope that this would result in more effective and continuous fund raising across the country. This proved not to be the case. Of great help, however, was the success in 1966, after many years of trying, in getting the federal government to provide an annual supporting grant.

With respect to the program sponsored by the Association, Thomas continued the strong emphasis placed by his predecessors on the field of citizenship education. Although the Forum projects were terminated, several other projects took their place. The CAAE's services to practitioners were considerably expanded. The Association gave prominence to a series of new issues, and clienteles. The most substantial single program project during the period was the Commission of the Community College, which, with the assistance of the largest single grant ever received by the Association, attempted to assist in the development of the community college movement in Canada and to emphasize particularly the role of the colleges in serving the interests of the adult learner.

In his annual report in 1966, Thomas looked back on his work with the Association, in terms of what he saw to have been accomplished (CAAE AR 1965-66, p.9).

> I came to CAAE to accomplish three things; to build a strong Board and more widely conceived organization; to establish a reasonable financial basis; and to formulate a new statement of our concerns for the quality and quantity of adult learning. To some degree, some of those things are accomplished, not permanently...but enough to see a glimmer of what they mean.

While this was by no means the end of Thomas' time with the Association, it was clearly a point when much useful work had been accomplished: the new constitutional arrangements were in place and the division structure filling out; the federal government had been persuaded to provide annual sustaining grants for the Association; and the most ambitious advocacy activity ever undertaken by the organization, the White Paper, had been successfully launched. This appears to have been the high point of the decade for the CAAE.

THE ORGANIZATION

Divisional Structure and Organizational Change

The Thomas years involved an attempt to create a national organization which retained its unitary character but which at the same time encouraged and incorporated provincial bodies, to be called divisions. Indeed, Thomas himself was the chief architect of this new organizational structure, while still in British Columbia, and joined the staff of the CAAE at the time with the Association was evaluating the proposed new structure. He helped to convince the Executive and National Council that the plan would work and having done so, had the task of managing the new system. By the time he decided to leave the CAAE in 1969 (to take effect early in 1970), it was clear that the divisional

structure was not working to the satisfaction of many in the organization and that some basic change would take place.

The origins of the proposal which emanated from British Columbia in 1961 have been described in detail elsewhere (Selman 1969, 1980). Adult educators in B.C. had been meeting regularly, twice a year, since 1954. For the thirteenth semi-annual conference to be held in May of 1961, (which was seen as well to be part of the preparation for the national conference in Ottawa to be held in the fall), working papers were prepared on several topics, among them one prepared by a committee chaired by Alan Thomas, "Study and Recommendations Regarding the Structure, Financing and Role of the CAAE with Special Reference to British Columbia". For several years prior to this point the national organization, the CAAE, was separate and distinct from the few provincial bodies which existed, but beginning in 1958 provincial groups which chose to do so could affiliate with the CAAE and name a representative to its National Council (Selman 1982). The committee chaired by Thomas proposed a basic change in this relationship. The national body would be asked to amend its structure so as to provide for provincial divisions, not, as in the past, separate but affiliated bodies, but integral parts of the CAAE. There would be a common membership between the two bodies, the provincial organization would raise funds and memberships for the two levels at the same time, and the provincial body would have suitable representation on the governing bodies of the CAAE. At the provincial level, at least in the case of B.C., the organization would be transformed from a council of agencies to a body in which there would be both personal and organizational memberships. These proposals were adopted by the B.C. conference.

There were both provincial and national purposes to be served by these arrangements. In B.C., the 1950s were a time of great growth in adult education programs and in the number of persons who were coming to identify themselves with the field of adult education. The structure of the former B.C. organization did not provide for personal memberships or a direct personal link to the field through the organization. It had become increasingly clear that some change was required (Selman 1969, 1980). At the same time, adult educators in the province who were active in the CAAE, who valued its work and sought to promote its welfare, felt that the new proposals would strengthen the national body while at the same time fully meeting the need for a new type of provincial organization. It was clear that provincially-based interests in adult education (institutions, programs and associations of adult educators) were gaining strength rapidly and that the CAAE, in Thomas' words, "had to support them or it would disappear" (personal

communication, Mar.10,1982). There were also strong stirrings at this time in the rapidly-developing vocational education area (which was receiving massive injections of federal funds under the 1960 legislation) and some felt that it was important just then to strengthen the CAAE, which was devoted to a more comprehensive view of adult education. So, for reasons both provincial and national, the B.C. conference in May 1961, unanimously endorsed the recommendations and these were communicated to the national organization, on whose action their implementation depended.

The CAAE had had its constitution under review for some time (CAAE Exec. May 27,1960; Sept.22,1961). The process was given fresh impetus, however, by the report of the B.C. recommendations. At this point, Thomas joined the staff of the CAAE (Sept. 1, 1961). Thus the chief architect of the B.C. proposals had become the Associate Director of the national body and took a lead in urging the adoption of the plan. Following informal discussions held at the time of the national conference, B.C. was authorized to proceed with the organization of a division, while the constitution committee of the CAAE prepared the necessary constitutional amendments (CAAE NC Oct.26-Nov.1,1961). In March of 1962, the National Council approved an interim measure designed to accommodate the B.C. group and the annual meeting in June formally adopted a constitutional change which recognized the B.C. Division and in effect, inserted the constitution of the B.C. body into the national by-laws (CAAE NC May 4; AM June 2,1962). And at the annual meeting a year later, there was a total reorganization of the governing structure of the organization with provision made for the representation of any division which subsequently joined.

It is clear from the reports of the Constitution Committee that by March of 1962, the committee had been assigned the task not only of providing for the creation of divisions, but also "to study the entire constitution"(CAAE NC Mar.4,1962). By June, it seems to have been decided that the National Council, which had grown to be a body of 56 members, should be replaced by a smaller Board of Directors (CAAE NC June 1, 1962) and by the end of the year, that the Board would contain some "at large" members (three from each region) and one from each provincial division or other provincial "affiliate", to a total of 28 members (CAAE Exec. Dec.12,1962). These and other amendments were formally approved at the annual meeting in June of 1963, the Executive being empowered to make minor changes in the light of the discussions at the meeting, the new constitutions and by-laws to come into effect in 1964.

There was significance in this reorganization which went beyond the reduction in the size of the National Council/Board. Thomas has reflected that if the

organization was to be vigorous and expertly informed in its advocacy role, he as Director had to have a reasonably compact and well informed Board he could work with. It had to be the governing body, not just a committee, on whose authority action could be taken, and given the increasing professionalization of the field and the shifting focus of the advocacy activity, it was important that the Board be expert in its knowledge of the field (personal communication Aug.10,1983). Not only was the Board reduced in size (exactly in half), but it also became a more professional group.

The divisional structure of the Association filled out as the decade progressed. British Columbia was the first, its position being authorized in 1962 and its first budget being approved early in 1963 (CAAE Exec. Jan.15,1963). By January of 1963, two other provincial bodies, in Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan, were affiliated with the CAAE. The Nova Scotia Council for Adult Education had been organized in November 1962, was an affiliate of the CAAE for almost two years and became the Nova Scotia Division in the fall of 1964. The Saskatchewan organization remained an autonomous but affiliated group until the spring of 1967, when it became a division.

Three other provinces formed divisions in the balance of the decade. Adult educators in Manitoba had met sporadically since the late fifties, had further meetings in 1962, but did not in fact form a division until late 1966. By a complicated process, the CAAE and adult educators in Ontario began working towards an organization in the spring of 1964. Further meetings, negotiations with other organizations and a grant-in-aid of $5,000 secured by the CAAE from the Atkinson Charitable Foundation, led to the creation of an Ontario Division in April 1966, the new organization being both a division of the CAAE and the Continuing Education section of the Ontario Education Association. In December of 1967, Newfoundland, which had been represented on the National Executive for more than a year, formed a division of the Association, the last to be so formed. When adult educators in Alberta formed a provincial body in 1967, discussions at that time, and at the annual meeting the following year, produced a decision to remain independent rather than link up with the CAAE (Roberts 1982; Tewnion and Robin 1978).

The divisional structure lasted about a decade, roughly the period of Thomas' leadership of the organization. The aim was to create a strong national organization for the English speaking adult education movement in Canada which could rely on and draw strength from the provincial divisions, while at the same time leaving the provincial bodies free to act according to the needs of their own situations. To this extent, the divisional structure worked. Problems arose in other areas.

The provincial divisions were all represented on the Board of the national body. The fiscal relationship was complex. It had been proposed originally that any funds that were raised provincially for the CAAE would be divided proportionally between the provincial and the national levels. In the restructuring which took place in 1963, however, it was decided instead (perhaps in an effort to strengthen the national ties) that all memberships and funds which were raised would go to the national body and the latter would annually negotiate a budget with each division, the funds to be paid back out to the division. (The CAAE had its own national Finance Committee and was raising funds on its own, in consultation with the divisions.) This fiscal relationship was the subject of a constitutional amendment in June of 1967, the effect of which was to define more precisely the obligation of the divisions to forward to Toronto all funds they received and which were properly those of the national body (CAAE Bd. June 22-23, 1967).

The financial resources of the divisions fell into three categories. All membership fees and donations for general purposes were in due course to be forwarded to the national office. The budget of the division was negotiated annually with Toronto and this amount was paid in quarterly instalments. The funds from the national office were intended primarily to cover the office and administrative expenses of the division and the expenses of provincial representatives in attending national meetings. A second account was usually maintained which was used to finance programs put on by the division locally or provincially, and balances in this account were the property of the division. Thirdly, the national organization occasionally undertook projects which were funded from elsewhere and which involved the divisions in their execution. In these cases, the divisions were sometimes paid an administrative overhead fee, which became the division's property.

This rather complex set of arrangements provided a great deal of difficulty between the divisions and the national. The divisions were not always careful enough in their record keeping and were sometimes slow in sending forward funds which belonged to the national office. The national was sometimes short of funds and could not always make their payments on time. Staff time was short at both levels and problems arose. Divisions, which were counted upon to carry out fund raising in their province for the national organization, frequently did not carry out this responsibility. Sometimes the national was desperate for funds and it was known that some divisions had considerable funds in their accounts, to the frustration and annoyance of those trying to raise funds nationally. The system was too complex for such a small organization.

There was also a great deal of detailed work to be maintained with respect to memberships. Members in any province where there was a division automatically became a member of both the division and the national and much information had to flow back and forth, records maintained, memberships billed and accounted for annually, and other details. Mailings from Toronto (the journal, newsletters, communications to members, etc.) depended upon Toronto having up to date membership records, which was not always the case. It was mainly in terms of problems in these two areas--finance and membership records--that Alan Thomas was to comment later, "It was a horror to manage, and eventually collapsed of its own weight" (personal communication Mar.10,1982). In such a modest sized organization, there was simply not the staff time, provincially or nationally, to maintain the volume of administrative detail necessary for such complex arrangements.

Such matters were but irritants, however. There were more basic problems, which in the end led to the dissolution of the divisional structure. First, organizations such as the CAAE are notoriously difficult to manage. The membership and governing bodies are theoretically responsible for goal setting and the approval of major activities. But on the other hand, if fund raising for projects is left largely to the Director, as was the case, the Director must go where the money is to be found and will tend to explore most actively in areas for which he personally has most enthusiasm. This represents enough difficulty when the Board and Executive are representing national interests or a national perspective. But when, as in the case of the CAAE in the sixties, a substantial number of the Board members were named by and representing provincial bodies, there was all the more likelihood that these persons could come to feel that the national body was not serving their interests.

A second major difficulty arose from the fact that as the field of adult education expanded rapidly in the sixties, many people entered the field with little knowledge or understanding of the traditions of the CAAE and the leadership it had provided in the social movement dimensions of adult education. The provincial divisions were made up largely of people who looked to the divisions, and the national organization, for support services in their role as practitioners. There was inadequate understanding, much less approval, of the social activist role of the CAAE. As has been noted elsewhere, some elements in the provincial organizations came to speak with scorn of the "social crusaders" who in their view were dominating the leadership of the CAAE (Selman 1980, p.37).

Perhaps most basic of all was what was happening in Canadian society as a whole during the sixties. It was a time of social unrest, of confrontational methods of seeking social change, of promotion of special interests and of single

issue social and political movements. These populist elements appeared in the affairs of the CAAE, as in many such organizations in the period and led, in the end, to pronounced changes in the CAAE's goals and style of operation. These new forces produced what could understandably be seen by some as social crusading tendencies. They also produced leaders in the CAAE who had little interest in or patience with the administrative details involved in maintaining the complicated relationships with the divisions and preferred instead a simpler, more directly "grass roots" or participatory style of operation. This eventually led to the abandonment by the national body of the divisional structure in 1970.

For the reasons indicated above, there were bound to be difficulties in the management of the organizational structure which was adopted in the early sixties. Some of these related to the day-to-day administration, some to feelings in the divisions that the CAAE was not responding to the needs and interests of their members, and as the decade progressed, some related to differences of view as to how the CAAE should respond to the urgent social and political issues we associate with the late sixties in Canada.

It is not surprising, therefore, that complaints and controversy appeared. At the Board meeting held in late January 1967, for instance, a demand was expressed by some members of the Board for a re-examination of the goals of the organization. Complaints were heard that a national membership drive was being conducted without adequate liaison with the divisions, and that the membership records were not being kept adequately. There was even a complaint that in the annual report the Executive Committee was listed before the Board members. Thomas, in his mid-year Director's Report to the same meeting, pointed out that the provincial bodies were not living up to their responsibilities in the national finance campaign (CAAE Bd. Jan.28-29,1967). At the June Board meeting, complaints were heard from Saskatchewan that the Association's newsletter and journal were too esoteric and not relevant to the members' interests (CAAE Bd. June 22-23,1967). In the following year there were complaints about lack of provincial representation on CAAE standing committees (CAAE Bd. June 5-6,1968). These are some examples of difficulties which appeared. In his comments to the annual meeting in June 1968, the President of the Association spoke wryly of the national body receiving "clear--and at times vigorous--advice from the divisions" (President's Report, CAAE AM June 6-8,1968). None of this was particularly surprising, given the circumstances of the organization and the nature of the times. But at this distance in time, it can be seen that the discontents that began to be expressed in 1967 and which were brought to a head at the annual meeting and conference the following year, represented the seeds of destruction of the divisional structure of the Association.

It was decided to hold a conference in connection with the annual meeting in June 1968, and to make the CAAE itself the object of study at this meeting. This in itself was perhaps an acknowledgement that all was not well. The President's report to the annual meeting referred to the "winds of change" which were being felt in the organization (President's Report, CAAE AM June 6-8,1968) and the proceedings of the meeting bore out the prior indications that change was wanted. There was clearly a feeling on the part of some participants that the CAAE, as represented by the Board of Directors, had got out of touch with the divisions and the members across the country. Thomas' editorial in Continuous Learning following the conference quoted one spokesman: "The CAAE is in a crisis, is at the crossroads. The Board had better deliver this next year or else" (1968b, p.147). A storm developed around the budget, containing a large deficit, which the Board submitted for approval. This sharpened up the debate about the general role of the organization and the relationship between the national and provincial levels. It was at times an abrasive conference and feelings ran high. Although the meeting identified problems, it did not chart a new course. It was decided to appoint a study committee to examine the issues and make recommendations.

A Committee on the Philosophy, Structure and Operation of the CAAE, chaired by Donald Snowden, the President of the Newfoundland Division and one of the most vocal critics of the Association, was organized in the summer and fall of 1968 (CAAE Exec. Aug.12; Bd. Sept.20,1968) and worked through the following year. Its report was circulated to the divisions in the early spring of 1969, discussed at the Board meeting in June and considered at length at the annual meeting in Winnipeg in October. Discussions at the latter were organized around four areas--purposes, finance, programs and structure, and those attending had available the reactions to the Committee's report from all the divisions, the Board of Directors and the staff. The reports of the annual meeting (CL 8, 5 and 6, 1969) indicate that like its predecessor, it was vigorous and contentious, but that it failed to resolve the outstanding issues, referring them to the Board for "urgent consideration". There was some suggestion at the meeting of abandoning the divisional structure, but it was not pursued. Donald Snowden resigned from his offices in the Association in protest over the inconclusive outcome (CAAE Bd. Jan.30,1970).

It is not important to examine the details of the Snowden Report in that they did not, as it turned out, have a determining effect on the directions of the organization. On the whole, the report stressed the need for greater involvement of the divisions in the decision-making of the national body and also the need for the Board of Directors to control more effectively the activities conducted by the staff, under the guidance of the Executive. In other words, the report reflected

the continuing tension between the broad social purposes some favored for the national body, as exemplified in Thomas' leadership, and the membership-serving purposes, as stressed by the provincial divisions. The report put considerable emphasis on goals involving the delivery of services to practitioners. It was at this point, a few weeks after the 1969 annual meeting, that Thomas announced his resignation from the CAAE, to take effect at the end of February 1970 (CAAE Exec. Dec.16,1969).

Only a brief summary of subsequent changes in the structure of the CAAE need be provided. Those responsible for the finances of the national body became increasingly resentful of the inadequate efforts made by the divisions to raise funds for the CAAE. The Board meeting held in late January 1970, was decisive. It was the scene of a vigorous discussion about the goals of the Association and the role of the divisions. A motion to terminate the divisional structure was lost by one vote and a notice of motion was tabled (for the next annual meeting) that the divisional structure be abandoned. Some alternative models were discussed. It was decided to appoint a committee under the chairmanship of Michael Clague, who had been a member of the Board and Executive for some time, to examine the goals of the organization and consider alternate forms of organizational structure (CAAE Bd. Jan.30-Feb.1,1970).

Thus began a process which resulted in several organizational models being prepared as alternatives for consideration. While this was happening, two divisions, Newfoundland and Manitoba, indicated their impending withdrawal (CAAE Bd. May 23,1970). At the annual meeting in the spring, by which time Thomas had left, six models were considered and what was termed the "Developmental" or social action model was overwhelmingly adopted. This involved the termination of the divisional structure as such, but envisaged a continuing association or affiliation with these groups, which it was assumed would now become autonomous provincial bodies. The Board and Executive were authorized to prepare a new constitution for the CAAE, to be considered at a special meeting of the membership in the fall (CAAE AM May 22-23,1970). This meeting was held in early December 1970, in Toronto. Clague had taken the lead in preparing the proposals which were presented. The new model was confirmed, a new constitution and by-laws discussed and adopted (to take effect in May 1971) and a "Transition Committee" named, which was to work with the Executive, establish procedures for the reconstituted organization and manage the phasing out of financial and other connections with the divisions (CAAE AM Dec.4-5,1970). This was accomplished by the end of April 1971. By the time of the next annual meeting in June, the new model was in place and the new Director, Gordon Hodge, was on staff.

Administration

Reference has already been made to the complex forces which were present in the CAAE and the difficulties facing any director of an association such as the CAAE. Thomas had had a modest amount of experience in matters of administration. However, he was clear as to what had to be done, organized himself and the support staff to carry out the tasks, and threw himself, with his highly personal style, into the effort. There was too much to be done. Discussion of getting him an administrative assistant was not pursued because of lack of funds. Such an appointment probably would have been beneficial, because with Thomas travelling a great deal, and his responsibilities for writing and speaking, which were also onerous, there was not always sufficient time for administrative details. The divisions tended to feel that they were not receiving sufficient service and attention. No one could have fully met the demands upon the Director, given the situation. Thomas was in constant demand to do the things he did best--teaching, speaking, program planning, consulting and writing, and it was sometimes difficult to find time for the "maintenance" functions. And the complicated nature of the divisional structure, described above, called for a great deal of attention to administrative details.

The governing structure of the Association was modified in 1963, as is described above. The large and broadly representative National Council, which had been in existence since the founding of the organization, was replaced with a smaller Board of Directors. Thomas attached considerable importance to the change, in relation to the advocacy activity of the Association. His predecessor, Roby Kidd, had been challenged on occasion, by members of the Association who became aware that the CAAE was taking a certain public position on an issue, but did not feel that they had had an opportunity to give input to the policy paper. Thomas wished to avoid that problem by basing the Association's stance on the approval of the senior policy body. This was difficult to achieve in relation to the National Council, which was such a large body and could meet only infrequently. So he promoted the idea of a smaller group, which could meet more often (personal communication, Aug.10,1983). This was achieved in the constitutional revisions of 1963, with the creation of the Board of Directors to replace the National Council. He worked especially closely with the Executive Committee, an even smaller group, which met as needed, usually monthly. A review of the minutes of the Executive and Board in the following period indicates that the Board was more dominant, vis-a-vis the Executive, than the old Council had been. There was greater tendency on the part of the Executive to refer matters to the Board than had been the case before.

In early 1966, Thomas sought the consent of the Executive to employ a consulting firm to study the office management practices being used and to make recommendations (CAAE Exec. Mar.3,1966). The recommendations were discussed at subsequent meetings (CAAE Exec. May 27, Dec.14,1966) and in his mid-year report to the Board in January 1967, Thomas commented that "most of the recommendations" had been implemented, the major exception being the hiring of an administrative assistant to the Director (CAAE Bd. Jan.28-29,1967). A consultant was also employed early in 1969, at the suggestion of the Board, to provide advice concerning the program planning processes being used. A new process was used in planning activities for the year 1969-70. It involved an attempt to estimate in some detail the time commitment involved in each activity and its relationship to the overall time resources available. In the plans for 1969-70, the time commitments of the office were shown as (CAAE Exec. Feb.20,1969):

program	16%
public policy	7%
professional services	28%
administration	28%
organizational policy	21%

That this study was requested by the Board should perhaps be seen against the background of adverse criticism of the national office which was becoming more vocal in this period, especially from the divisions.

In addition to the Board and Executive, the Association maintained a series of standing committees. Some of these related to the ongoing services of the Association, such as the journal or the library and information services, some to specific projects, such as Citizens' Forum, and some to areas of concern or practice, such as residential adult education or voluntary action. In the year 1968-69, for instance, the list of standing committees was as follows (CAAE AM June 6-8,1968):

Public Affairs
Library and Publishing
Finance
School Boards
Communications
Labor
Research and Professional Development
Residential Adult Education
Poverty
Voluntary Action

It should be mentioned as well that for a brief period, 1963 to 1965, there was a Program Committee which was concerned with special program projects, ones which did not fall into the areas of the other committees and were a response to

significant public affairs issues. Thomas was uncomfortable with this arrangement, generally preferring program decisions to be dealt with directly by the Board and Executive (personal communication, Mar.14,1978).

Thomas' sense of style and of history were nowhere revealed more fully than in his creation of "Corbett House", the name given to the new headquarters of the Association as a memorial to the founding director, who passed away in 1964. The offices at 113 St. George Street, Toronto, became increasingly crowded as the size of the staff grew during the sixties. There was talk from time to time of moving the headquarters to Ottawa (CAAE Exec. Nov.9,1965; Bd. Jan.21,1966), but was apparently not pursued seriously until the end of the decade (CAAE Exec. Feb.13, April 8,1970). As early as January 1965, consideration was given to naming the headquarters building "Corbett House" (CAAE Exec. Jan.21,1965), but this step was not taken until the Association moved its offices in the summer of 1966 to a linked pair of houses at 21-23 Sultan Street, still in the University of Toronto area. The new quarters were officially opened and dedicated on January 27, 1967. The issue of Continuous Learning in which the account of the opening appeared (CL 6,1, 1967) was the first of many to carry a sketch of the new quarters on the cover. And Thomas' editorials consistently thereafter carried the words "Corbett House" at their conclusion. The Association remained in those quarters for the balance of the decade, usually subletting office space to other organizations.

Since its formation in 1935, the CAAE had been registered as an organization under the laws of Ontario. In the early sixties, while consideration was being given to the substantial revision of the constitution, it was decided to seek a federal charter instead. After the constitution was approved by the annual meeting in June 1963, application for the charter was made, and eventually approved in the fall of 1964 (CAAE Exec. Sept.22,1964). For a time thereafter, the Association inserted "(1964)" after its name on some of its publications, but this practice did not persist.

Finance

The Thomas years, like the earlier decades in the life of the CAAE, were a constant struggle in terms of financing the organization. The long campaign to secure a federal grant in support of the general expenses of the Association was successful in 1966, but both before and after that date, there were periodic crises when revenues were less than were needed to meet current expenditures, including the Director's salary.

The CAAE was extremely fortunate throughout this decade to have the loyal support and expert volunteer leadership of H.H. Edmison, an official of the Argus

Corporation, as its Treasurer. He helped see the organization through its periodical financial crises, led a continuing effort to raise funds from corporations for the CAAE, and interested in the work of the Association several other prominent businessmen, most notably Mr. Ron Ritchie, who chaired the Executive for a time early in the decade, and Mr. Henry Sissons, who helped with fund raising and became President of the CAAE for two years beginning in 1969.

At the outset of the decade there were three main sources of funds, memberships (individual and organizational), donations from governments and businesses, and project funds. The Finance Commitee concentrated largely on securing donations. The Director raised most of the project money. The Finance Committee was very active in this period. Centered in Toronto, it concentrated most of its activity in the Toronto and Montreal areas, where many of the large corporations were located. There was something of a pause in fund raising in the interval just after Roby Kidd left in the spring of 1961 and by late in the year, the situation was bleak. Early in 1962 a part-time fund raiser was employed for some months to assist the Finance Committee and the situation was improved somewhat (CAAE Exec. Dec.12,1961; Feb.14, Mar.21, May 16, 1962; AM 1962, 1963). Part of the problem had been the lapse in securing project funds. Thomas took over the directorship at a time when the organization's finances were at a low ebb. There were several other periods in the latter years of the decade when finances were at a crisis stage, in spite of the acquisition of the federal grant beginning in 1966. The minutes of the Board and Executive meetings throughout the late sixties make frequent references to the organization's financial problems. The receipt of a $25,000 bequest in 1967 was helpful, some of it being used to cover expenses of moving into the new headquarters and the rest being invested (CAAE AM June 23, 1967; Bd. June 13-14,1969). In 1967 too, much of the library of the Association was sold to the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education for approximately $50,000, at least partly for financial reasons (CAAE Exec. May 25, Sept.14,1967). Several CAAE budgets in the late sixties showed deficits and the organization was consistently living on borrowed funds. At the last Executive meeting before Thomas left the Association, in early 1970, the Treasurer described the financial situation as "particularly grim" (CAAE Exec. Feb.13,1970). The Association was not in a strong state to cope with the period of trial and indecision which followed after his departure (CAAE AM May 22-23; Exec. Sept.9,1970).

The most important event in terms of the long term financial picture was the securing of an annual supporting grant from the federal government. Efforts had been made since the very early years of the Association's life to get such a grant, but repeated efforts had been unsuccessful. Early in 1965, Henry Sissons

agreed to take charge of the process of seeking the grant once again and after a pause occasioned by a fall election, consultations went forward. At the Board meeting in late January 1966, Dr. Bert Wales, the President, announced that word had been received of an agreement whereby the federal government would provide an annual grant of $30,000 or one third of the Association's annual expenditures, whichever was less, this arrangement to remain for an initial five year period (CAAE Bd. Jan.21-22,1966). A few months later, Thomas referred in his annual report to (CAAE DR 1966)

> the grant from the federal government which has provided the first four months in succession since my assumption of office without constant worry over whether we could pay our staff.

As indicated above, this financial stability was not characteristic of the balance of the decade, although the federal grant was maintained. An attempt was made, in concert with the ICEA, in late 1969 to persuade the federal government to raise the level of their support, but this was not successful (CAAE Exec. Dec.14,1969; Jan.21, and Bd. Jan.30,1970).

The financial relationships between the national office and the divisions has already been described. The divisions were not very successful in raising funds, but became increasingly insistent as the decade progressed that they be active participants in national decision-making. In the latter years of the decade, some divisions had considerable funds in their provincial accounts, while the national office had a severe shortage (CAAE Bd. Jan.28-29,1967; Exec. Nov.5, 1969). The national Finance Committee moved in 1969 to get a full audited picture of divisional finances (CAAE Exec. Feb.20,1969). There were times in late 1969 and subsequently when the national organization could not meet its quarterly budget payments to the divisions (CAAE Bd. Oct.6,1969) and early the following year the national body asked for "loans" from the divisions, in cases where they had surplusses in other accounts (CAAE Bd. Jan.30,1970). The financial relations with the divisions were a constant source of grief by the late sixties and certainly contributed to the eventual breakdown of the system.

Membership

Membership in the CAAE increased steadily during the decade, doubling in the period from 676 individuals (1960-61) to 1,266 (1968-69) and 112 organizations (1960-61) to 273 (1968-69). There was a sharp jump in 1963-64, largely due to the efforts of the B.C. and Saskatchewan groups (CAAE Exec. Nov.6,1963). Six months later an item in the newsletter, Interim, pointed out that in B.C.,

Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia, the existence of the provincial organizations appeared to explain the substantial increases in those provinces, whereas the numbers had remained "fairly stationary" in the other provinces (2,3, 1964).

A position paper on membership was discussed by the Board early in 1968 and led to a decision to create a standing committee on the topic which was to involve active participation by the divisions and to undertake a membership campaign (CAAE Bd. Jan.12-13, 1968). In the subsequent two years there are several references in the minutes to the development of this effort and in early 1969, it was reported that the recent campaign had increased membership by 65 per cent (CAAE Exec. Mar.20,1969). It is hard to see, from the annual figures, how this could have been so.

There were frequent discussions of the level of membership fees, it being pointed out from time to time that the current fee was not covering the costs of services rendered to members. The matter of inaugurating a "professional membership", at a higher rate, was discussed but never adopted (CAAE AM June 2,1962; Bd. Jan.12-14,1968). Early in his time on the staff Thomas raised the matter of possible joint memberships with other organizations, such as the organization of those in university extension work, and although the idea was referred to the committee studying the constitution, nothing further seems to have come of it (CAAE Exec. Nov.20,1961).

A review of the minutes and reports of the Association reveals that a great deal of time and energy went into discussing membership matters, and apparently concerted efforts were made from time to time to recruit additional members for the CAAE, but except for the substantial increase in the middle of the decade (most of it coming from the three provinces) all that was accomplished was a modest growth from year to year, this in a time of very rapid expansion of the field as a whole. A doubling of membership in the decade was an accomplishment, but it is clear that only a very small portion of the practicing adult educators were interested in membership in the organization.

Staff

When Thomas joined the CAAE in September 1961, it was as Associate Director. Arthur Pigott had been appointed Director on May 1 of that year, on the departure of Roby Kidd, and remained in that position for a little over a year, Thomas taking his place in September 1962. Pigott's chief interest in the field was in education for employment and he was active as a speaker and consultant in that area. His knowledge of the broader field of adult education was somewhat limited,

however, whereas Thomas had completed doctoral studies in adult education and had varied experience as a practitioner. It was clear that the Association could not for long employ two such senior officers, and the relationship between the two was cordial, but somewhat uneasy. At a "closed session" of the Executive in June of 1962, it was decided to ask for Pigott's resignation and appoint Thomas as Director instead, as of September 1.

Several staff members left the Association in the closing months of Kidd's tenure. The veterans of the professional staff who carried over into the Thomas years were Isabel Wilson, the National Secretary of Citizens' Forum, and Diana Ironside, who was in charge of the library and information services. Eleanor Graham, the editor of Food For Thought, also carried over from the Kidd years but she resigned in 1962 and Thomas took over that role.

The size of the staff grew fairly steadily during the decade, rising from nine when Thomas took over to fifteen when he left. He recruited good people and in his report for 1966-67 he commented (DR 1966-67, p.9):

> For the first time since my assumption of office as Director in 1962, I am able to come before the annual meeting representing a group of reasonably experienced staff.

But he was quick to point out that the staff was greatly overworked.

The staff functions performed through most of this period included that of Director and journal editor, which Thomas combined; the Citizen's Forum and Public Affairs position, filled by Isabel Wilson; Program Officer, filled by Diana Ironside until 1964 and then John Cornish until 1966; the direction of the library and information services, performed by Diana Ironside (1962-63), Brenda Docent (1963-65), Lola Bratty (1965-68) and Anne Setchell after that time (there was an assistant librarian throughout the period); from early 1966, a Managing Editor of Continuous Learning, Donald MacNeil, who subsequently took on program functions as well, and eventually became the caretaker administrator of the CAAE's affairs after Thomas' departure in 1970; beginning in 1967, a part-time consultant on school board adult education, Milton Pummell; and with the beginning of the Commission on the Community College in 1968, three staff members on that project. In addition to the foregoing, there were usually four secretarial staff members, a bookkeeper and a membership secretary. When Thomas went on leave for the first four months of 1968, teaching and travelling in Africa, Mr. Gower Markle of the Steelworkers' Union and a long-time member of the CAAE Board and Executive, served as Acting Director, as necessary.

Thomas was greatly concerned about the welfare of the staff and gave a lot of time and energy to cultivating an esprit de corps among his colleagues. He

worked actively with the personnel committee and encouraged periodic reviews of job classifications, salary scales and fringe benefits packages. A new pension plan was introduced in 1961, salaries reviewed and scaled upwards significantly in the following year, a major review of personnel practices was prepared and implemented in 1963, sick leave provisions regularized in 1966, and new salary scales adopted in 1968 and 1969.

Thomas was modest in his own salary demands and on at least two occasions, when he arrived in 1961 and again in 1968, opted for a lower salary than the top figure offered him. On more than one occasion, the shortage of funds in the Association's accounts led Thomas to defer the salary due him until the cash was available (personal communication Aug.10,1983).

When Thomas left the CAAE in late February 1970, there were 15 staff members, three of those on the community college project (and paid for out of the grant). Of the other 12, nine had resigned by the end of the year, a reflection of both the dwindling resources and the confusion of aims in the Association. These developments demonstrated dramatically how vital to an organization such as the CAAE is an able and energetic director who can inspire and lead its activities, raise project funds and generally make things go.

Relations with the ICEA

One of the goals Thomas pursued during his time as Director of the CAAE was to establish and maintain active, effective relations with the French Language counterpart organization of the CAAE, the Institut Canadien d'Education des Adultes (ICEA). Thomas attributes his deep concerns and aspirations in this matter to the fact that his mother was from Quebec and that he had spent some of his early years in that province and had a particular attraction to the French language (personal communication, Sept.29,1983). The sixties were stressful times in Canadian Confederation, the years of the Quiet Revolution, and of mounting concerns about the gulf between English and French speaking Canada. In the world of adult education, although a French language organization had grown up as a committee of the CAAE originally, there had been a complete separation for some years. Kidd, Thomas' predecessor, although very successful in many aspects of his work, did not seem to have much success cultivating sustained working relations with the ICEA, which was founded in the early fifties. When Thomas became Director, however, he was determined to establish satisfactory relations with the ICEA and he devoted a great deal of time and effort to bringing that about.

Relations with the ICEA took various forms. There was an attempt to hold a continuing series of joint committee meetings, and at times, joint Executive

meetings, out of which came plans for several joint activities. Most basic of all, a firm relationship and understanding were created with respect to fund raising with the federal government. The principle of equality was established whereby the federal government would treat the two organizations equally. At first it might have been felt in the CAAE that because it represented the great majority of the nation, the English-speaking community, it should have received preferred treatment in any grants from Ottawa. In fact, however, it was to be only a few years later, in the time immediately after Thomas' departure, that the equal treatment understanding may have been what saved the Association. In a period when the CAAE's activities were at a very low ebb, it was the insistence upon equal treatment on the part of the ICEA which may have prevented the CAAE from losing the federal supporting grant.

In early December of 1961, Thomas and Diana Ironside met with representatives of the ICEA and reported to the CAAE Executive that "it was hoped that regular meetings between our two Executives could be held in future"(CAAE Exec. Dec.12,1961). The National Council endorsed the proposal at its next meeting, as well as the suggestion that the two organizations co-operate in fund seeking (CAAE NC Mar.4, 1962). The first such joint Executive meeting was held later in 1962 and out of this came the suggestion of a joint committee to be established which could plan for jointly sponsored activities (CAAE Exec. Sept.22,1962). This joint meeting did not take place until the fall of 1963, but in the meantime the CAAE held its annual meeting in Quebec City in June, which several ICEA members attended. There was discussion at the time of a possible further bilingual national conference in 1964, but this was apparently not pursued (CAAE Exec. Mar.4,1963).

Early in 1964, the ICEA was helpful to the CAAE in organizing a tour of Western Canada by a panel of speakers from Quebec and during that year also, the two organizations negotiated jointly with the ARDA administration the substantial consultations on training for community development workers, which were carried out the following year. The next major co-operative venture was a North American adult education conference, which was held in Montreal in the fall of 1967. It was in fact an inter-American conference, with some representation from Latin American countries as well, and although Thomas took much of the leadership in organizing the conference, he worked closely with representatives of the ICEA in the planning and execution of the meeting, and also with respect to the continuing committee which arose from the conference.

A joint Executive meeting between the CAAE and the ICEA was held in December of 1968 in Montreal. Out of this came agreement on forming a joint Committee on Public Affairs through which the two organizations could co-operate in bringing

matters of national importance to the attention of the Canadian people (CAAE Exec. Jan.16,1969). Other matters were discussed as well, and were followed up in a more informal meeting the following spring. The annual report for the year described the relationship between the two organizations as "more mutually satisfactory than ever before" (CAAE AR 1968-69, p.A-28). In November 1969, not long before Thomas left the directorship, a further substantial joint meeting was held in Toronto. Discussed at that time were ambitious plans for further joint approaches to the federal government, the development of a national, bilingual declaration about adult education, and discussion of a substantial project involving the holding of national consultations and the preparation of a publication on "adult education and public affairs" (CAAE Exec. Dec.16,1969). An anonymous article, likely written by Thomas, appeared in Continuous Learning at this time which reviewed current co-operative projects between the two organizations, those mentioned briefly above, and commented that there had recently been a "marked increase in co-operation" between the two bodies ("ICEA", 1969).

It was shortly after this that Thomas left his position with the CAAE and the organization fell into a period of inactivity and ineffectiveness. The CAAE was not in a position to carry out its business effectively and the relationship with the ICEA was not pursued, at least for several years, although there was continuing consultation with respect to the sustaining grant which the two organizations were receiving from Ottawa. It remained for Mr. Ian Morrison, when he took up the post of Director a few years later, to revive and further the co-operation between the two organizations.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Since the early years of the CAAE, it had been engaged in service to adult education practitioners and agencies, and also to members of the general public, the latter largely in the field of citizenship or public affairs education (Selman 1981, 1982). This continued to be the case in the Thomas years. As the field of adult education expanded, new specialties developed within the field, those practicing in related fields became increasingly interested in adult education, and new groups of learners, or clientele, each with special needs, became identified. At the same time, the rapid social and political change which was taking place during the sixties threw up certain issues and dramatized the needs of certain groups. The program of the CAAE reflects clearly much of this.

The Association continued its practice, which had been instituted in the

early fifties, of holding a national conference approximately every second year. The decade began with a major event, the 1961 national conference, which was co-sponsored with the ICEA. The next was held in April of 1964, on "Learning to Live in the City". A special conference on the community college was held in Ottawa in June of 1965. In September of 1966, in Vancouver, a national conference was held on matters of professional concern, entitled "Adult Education: An Emerging Profession". Thereafter, beginning with the conference of 1968 and through into the beginning of the next decade, the meetings were preoccupied with the internal concerns of the organization.

The End of the Forums, the Joint Planning Commission and Study-discussion

The sixties brought the termination of several programs for which the organization--and Canadian adult education--had gained an enviable reputation internationally in the field of adult education. Three of the best known adult education programs in the world, National Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum and the Joint Planning Commission, all CAAE activities, were discontinued during this decade. Similarly, the well known CAAE project involved in the promotion of study-discussion programs in the liberal arts was also brought to a close when the supporting grant funds ran out.

The first of these to be terminated was the study-discussion program. Having begun in 1956 under the name, Commission for Continuous Learning (Selman 1982), the project was supported initially by the Fund For Adult Education (FAE) and promoted the use and development of study-discussion materials in Canada. It was subsequently renamed Living Library, acquired additional funding from Encyclopedia Britannica of Canada, but ran out of grant funds in 1961. At the first Executive meeting held after Thomas joined the staff, the chairman of the committee for the project made an appeal for $7,000 from the CAAE budget to continue the work. This was rejected, on the grounds that the project had been a demonstration one and had done its work (CAAE Exec. Sept.22,1961). For a few years after this, arrangements were made with the Readers' Club of Canada (which was operated by a former CAAE staff member) to hold and distribute the study-discussion courses, but there was little activity and early in 1964, the project was terminated (Living Library, 1964).

The accomplishments and international reputation of National Farm Radio Forum, a joint project of the CAAE, the Canadian Federation of Agriculture and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, have been extensively documented (Corbett 1957; Ohliger 1967; Selman 1981, 1982; Sim 1954). The number of listening groups participating in the Farm Forum had been gradually declining since the early 1950s.

Special efforts made in 1962 produced a slight increase in the number in the 1962-63 season but it declined again the following year, and in 1964-65 there were only 230 registered listening groups involving approximately 2,000 persons. Early in 1965, the Board of Farm Forum decided to terminate the program at the end of that program year and to transfer its assets and liabilities to the Canadian Federation of Agriculture (Ohliger 1968). So ended the life of perhaps the most famous Canadian adult education program. There had been a suggestion within the CAAE as early as 1961 that it might withdraw its financial support of Farm Forum (CAAE Exec. Dec.12,1961), but it remained a full partner to the end, partly out of deference to Ned Corbett, the past Director, who had been the chief architect of the project and who represented the Association on the Farm Forum Board.

The CAAE had a more direct involvement in Citizens' Forum than Farm Forum. There was no third sponsoring organization in the case of the Citizens' Forum (just the CBC and the CAAE) and the offices of the project were at the CAAE headquarters. The program has been fully described elsewhere (Corbett 1957; Ohliger 1967; Selman 1981, 1982; Wilson 1980) and as in the case of the Farm Forum, it was in a state of decline by the time Thomas joined the organization. In early 1961, the chairman of the committee responsible for Citizen's Forum reported to the National Council that the listening group aspect of the program was declining, receipts from the program were down 18 per cent from the previous year, and he raised the question as to "whether this investment is paying satisfactory dividends" (CAAE NC Jan.20,1961).

Throughout the next several years, efforts were maintained to sustain the program. Various experiments with the radio and television versions were tried. The television program was reaching a larger audience than radio had and the volume of mail from listeners increased. But the listening group aspect of the program had almost disappeared. In 1963-64, there were signs of lack of interest on the part of the CBC and the program lost even its longstanding name. The television program was changed to "The Sixties" and the radio version was converted to an open line show. Citizens' Forum had thus been changed out of all recognition and for all practical purposes, had ceased to exist.

The CAAE did not give up easily on Citizens' Forum and the relationship with the CBC. In late 1963, "summit talks" between the two organizations were held and efforts made to bolster the interest in co-operative activity (CAAE Exec. Nov.6,1963). In the following year, Thomas reported that the relations with the CBC were "strained" and raised questions about the future of the project (CAAE Exec. Feb.21,1964). The CAAE journal continued to carry notices of "The Sixties"

and the radio show, "Cross Canada Check-up", in the summer of 1965, but in the following year, it was decided formally to disband the Citizens' Forum Committee (CAAE Bd. Jan.27-28,1967). It would appear that one last effort was made to interest the CBC in co-operative activity. A comprehensive "Proposal to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation" (undated, but likely 1966) appears in the files, which makes the case for "re-invigorating" the association between the two organizations. This was not to be, as the CBC applied more commercial standards to its public affairs programming (Peers 1979) and apparently had less interest in sustained association with organizations such as the CAAE.

The last of the longstanding major CAAE projects to be concluded during the decade was the Joint Planning Commission. Founded in 1947, the JPC was a consultative body serving more than a hundred agencies, public and private, interested in adult education and the social and cultural development of Canada (Clark 1954; Corbett 1957; Selman 1982). It was a successful model of such consultation and co-ordination and had been the object of study by visitors from many countries (Clark 1954).

The JPC continued its pattern of three meetings a year well into the 1960s, although the number of organizations participating on a regular basis began to decline. A high point in 1964 was when Prime Minister Pearson addressed one of the meetings, on International Co-operation Year. Early the following year, the long-time chairman of the JPC, Walter Herbert, resigned and was replaced. With the decline in the number of those attending the meetings, it was decided to give up the pattern of three meetings a year and to have ad hoc sessions from time to time, as topics of interest suggested themselves. This new approach did little to revive the JPC's fortunes and in January 1968, the Board of the CAAE accepted a recommendation to terminate the work of the Commission (CAAE Bd. Jan.12-14,1968). It has also been suggested that a reason for the demise of the JPC was that in order for such a body to function successfully at the national level in Canada as the sixties progressed, it would have to be able to function in the two official languages, something the JPC was not equipped to do (Alan Thomas, personal communication, Aug.10,1983).

Program Committee and the Public Agenda

In the summer of 1963, at the time of the restructuring of the Association and the creation of the Board of Directors, it was decided to set up what came to be known as the Special Programs Committee. Its role was to survey social and political developments and to suggest and organize special programs, apart from those likely to be taken on by other standing committees (CAAE Exec. July 25,1963).

The committee was chaired by Gordon Hawkins, a former member of the CAAE staff, and continued in existence for a little over a year. When Hawkins resigned in the fall of 1964, the committee was allowed to lapse, the Executive deciding that it could undertake the role (CAAE Oct.23,1964). During its brief existence, the Program Committee took responsibility for two significant ventures--a tour of Western centres by a panel of speakers from Quebec and a speaking tour by a leading expert on the education of women. The CAAE's concern with both of these topics preceded the Program Committee, but the committee helped bring the projects to fruition.

As early as 1961, soon after he joined the staff of the CAAE, Thomas had made the suggestion that the Association organize a speaking tour in the West for a party of leading French Canadians, in an effort to promote understanding between the two regions (CAAE Exec. Dec.12,1961). The idea was implemented by the Program Committee in early 1964, with financial assistance from the Citizenship Branch, Ottawa. Two of the three speakers, Jeanne Sauve and Claude Ryan, were later to achieve very high profile in Canadian life and the third, Guy Beaugrand-Champagne, was a leading adult educator from Quebec. The team visited five large centres in the West in February 1964, speaking to public meetings and appearing on the media. The Director's report to the Executive late in the month termed the project a success (although attendance was not all that was hoped) (CAAE Exec. Feb.21,1964) and later in the year, two members of the Touring panel wrote articles for Continuous Learning on their experience (Ryan 1964; Beaugrand-Champagne 1964).

Another important concern in the sixties was the women's movement. The CAAE had become involved at least as early as 1962, when it published (edited by Eleanor Graham of the staff) the report of a CBC conference on "The Real World of Women"(Graham 1962). The Program Committee picked the matter up in 1964 and early the following year arranged a tour of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver by Dr. Virginia Senders, an expert on the continuing education of women from the University of Minnesota (Interim, 2,7, 1965; CAAE DR 1965). The CAAE continued its interest in this field in subsequent years, carrying items about outstanding programs and reviews of books and reports on the subject in its newsletters and journal.

The Program Committee also helped to develop the early stages of the "Health of a Nation" project (CAAE Exec. July 2,1964), a significant program response to the Royal Commission on Health Services (the Hall Commission). This project was carried out in the spring of 1965 in co-operation with the CBC and the Canadian Institute on Public Affairs. The following report, taken from the CAAE document,

"Proposal to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation"(1966) indicates the scope of the project:

> Four TV broadcasts and five radio programs were prepared on the basis of wide consultation. The CAAE assembled a kit of materials as a background for discussion and some 2,300 of these were sold to adult education agencies across the country in support of activities in their regions and to individual members of the listening audience. The CAAE itself published a 16-page pamphlet outling the major recommendations of the Hall Report. Quite apart from its inclusion in the kit, some 25,000 copies of this pamphlet have been sold.

The document also described a series of meetings and educational events which had been held in seven different cities in Canada. This was clearly an example of the CAAE calling upon its experience with the Forum projects and applying the techniques to this new educational task.

During the balance of the decade, the Association carried out several other programs which, like the three foregoing examples, involved responding in an educational manner to matters which came to the fore in the public life of Canada. The volumes of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism report, as they appeared, were summarized in the same way and were thereby made available to large numbers of Canadians. In 1968 when the federal government appointed a Task Force on Federal Government Information, the CAAE persuaded the Task Force to hold "pilot conferences" for the purpose of testing public perceptions and reactions in relation to its task and asked the B.C. and Nova Scotia divisions to arrange such meetings.

Programs Related to Standing Committees

The Association maintained several standing committees during the decade on areas of program which were of continuing interest and importance. Some of these, such as those on school boards and residential education, had originated in the previous decade; others, on poverty and on research and training, were established during the Thomas years. The activities of five of these committees will be dealt with here.

Residential adult education was a matter of continuing interest in the field and had been for some decades. The folk school movement had been active in Ontario, and to a lesser extent in Manitoba, the leadership training and group development movements had a particular interest in residential adult education, and the leadership of several residential facilities had a particular interest as well. A standing committee on residential adult education was maintained throughout the

sixties, having been established in 1956. It appears to have been particularly active in the early years of the decade. A seminar on residential adult education was organized in January of 1963 and another later in the same year, co-sponsored with an Ontario-based group. In April of 1966, an issue of Interim was devoted to residential adult education and an attempt made to compile a directory of adult education residential centres (Interim 3,1, 1966). Plans for a conference on this aspect of the field were indicated in February of 1969, but no account of this event is available. Continuous Learning carried articles about residential education from time to time (CL 1,4, 1962; Sim 1969).

Perhaps the most active of the standing committees was that on communications. This was an area in which Thomas had a professional interest, his doctoral dissertation having dealt with an aspect of it. It was also an area of policy in which the CAAE had taken a consistent interest since its earliest days (Faris 1975; Selman 1981, 1982). Leadership was also provided during the sixties by Arthur Knowles, who was chairman of the CAAE Executive for some years as well as chairman of the communications committee. Within the first year of joining the Association, Thomas expanded the functions of its standing committee on film to become the committee on communications and he and Knowles became a strong and influential leadership team which continued throughout Thomas' tenure. The minutes of the Executive, National Council and Board of Directors throughout the decade indicate that a great deal of attention was given by the CAAE to its own activities in this field, and to helping shape public policy. Several briefs to government were prepared on matters related to communications during the decade (see below), several day-long meetings of the committee and other interested persons were held, public conferences were organized on communications topics in 1965 and 1967, and a survey was conducted of TV stations in 1963 concerning their educational and cultural programs. The CAAE co-sponsored a TV series, "Exploring the Universe", with the CTV network in 1963, encouraging the formation of listening groups, and performed the same function with another series, "Metropolis--Creator or Destroyer", the following year, and for a time in 1964, the CAAE explored the possibility of becoming the distributor for Canada of TV programs produced by National Educational Television in the United States. The foregoing are only representative examples of committee activities. As well, the Association's journal carried a great deal of material on communications and communications policy during the decade. The Thomas-Knowles combination of energy, professional knowledge and active concern produced a great deal of useful activity.

A standing committee on labor and education was maintained during the period. Its function was mainly one of keeping the lines of communication open

between the CAAE and adult educators within the labor movement. Thomas, like his predecessor, had a great interest in labor education. From time to time he took part in courses designed to train instructors within the unions and in 1966, the CAAE convened a meeting of specialists in adult instruction to advise the Canadian Labor Congress on its educational program. In 1964, an issue of Interim (2,4, 1964) was devoted to education in the labor movement and the chairman of the standing committee reported from time to time to the Board of Directors.

Another very active committee, and program area, was that of school boards and adult education. The sixties was a period of rapid expansion of school board sponsored adult education in Canada and the CAAE played a very active part in those developments, as it had in the previous decade (Selman 1982). Thomas worked closely in this matter with Dr. Bert Wales, who headed up the outstanding adult education program of the Vancouver School Board, chaired the standing committee for part of the decade and served as President of the CAAE from 1965 to 1967. Wales was perhaps the leading figure in school board adult education in the country, was a useful link with the Canadian Education Association, and frequently served as chief resource person at CAAE-sponsored meetings and conferences devoted to school board (and later, college) adult education. Mr. Dan Mewhort, Mr. Bert Curtis and Mr. Milton Pummell, the latter serving as a consultant in this area on the staff of the CAAE in the latter part of the decade, also made major contributions to this work. Several conferences on school board adult education were sponsored during the decade, one following the national conference in 1961, two for the Western Region (Regina and Edmonton) in 1964 and one for representatives of larger urban centres in the fall of 1966. Many items about school board adult education appeared in Continuous Learning, an issue of Interim in late 1966 was devoted to that area (3,3, 1966), and beginning early in 1967, a special newsletter for this sector, entitled Accent, was launched, edited by Milton Pummell. It appeared several times a year, until mid-1969 (last issue 3,1, 1969).

In 1965, in response to the rapid increase in programming for the educationally disadvantaged, the Association created a standing committee on literacy (CAAE Bd. June 2,1965). At the same time, concern for matters related to the extent of poverty in Canada was expressed, and after a few months, these two areas were brought together under a standing committee on poverty, chaired by Gower Markle, of which a group concerned specifically with literacy or adult basic education became a sub-committee. When John Cornish joined the staff in 1964, he was asked to assemble material about literacy education (CAAE Exec. Mar.5,1965) and the Association became increasingly active in the field, holding a national seminar on adult literacy in March of 1966 under a grant from the Training Branch of the Department of Citizenship

and Immigration and held in co-operation with Frontier College. The CAAE held a further workshop on adult basic education jointly with the Elliott Lake Training Center at the Center in the fall of 1968. Considerable attention was given in CAAE publications to the field of basic education, two issues of Interim focussing on that area (4,1, 1967; 5,1, 1968) and several substantial articles appearing in Continuous Learning towards the end of the decade (Brooke 1969; Niemi and Anderson 1969; Webb 1970).

Several other standing committees were maintained by the Association in these years, but appear to have sponsored little, if any, program activity. Committees on rural adult education and governments in adult education had functioned in the fifties, but both appear to have lapsed in 1963, with the reorganization of the CAAE. The committee on governments held a substantial conference directly after the national conference of 1961. A committee on university non-credit activities was disbanded in 1962, when it became apparent that this function was being performed by CADESS, the university extension organization. A committee of professors of adult education was formed in 1966 and met on one occasion during that year, but apparently not again. Somewhat more active was a committee on training and research (later research and professional development), which was formed in 1963. An effort that year to secure a large foundation grant for training purposes not having been successful, there seems to have been little activity subsequently.

Citizenship and Voluntary Action

Since its creation the CAAE had engaged in various forms of citizenship education, the Forum projects being the best known. In this connection, many activities were conducted co-operatively with the Citizenship Branch of the federal government, the Canadian Citizenship Council and other organizations in the field of education about public affairs.

Arising from meetings held soon after Thomas arrived (CAAE Exec. Sept.22, 1961), a project funded by the Citizenship Branch was launched which resulted in the publication of four "program guides" for use by citizenship convenors and program chairpersons in voluntary organizations. The subjects were (1) Canadian Nationalism, (2) Public Responsibility, (3) Know Your Community, and (4) Leader's Guide to Citizenship Programs. Each publication contained suggestions about techniques and topics and lists of resources for those planning programs. Advertisements and descriptions of the materials were carried in successive issues of Continuous Learning during the summer and fall of 1962 and in the first

issue of Interim in the fall of 1962, but no information has been located concerning the extent of use or sales of these booklets.

One of the most substantial program projects during these years was devoted to the subject of voluntary action. In 1962, in response to suggestions made by the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, consideration was given to a project which would involve "study of the activities of voluntary organizations" and lead to developing "a program for training in leadership in voluntary organizations" (CAAE Exec. Apr.25,1962). In July of 1964, a substantial proposal for a three year project to this end, which had been developed by a committee representative of several national voluntary organizations (National Council of Jewish Women, Y.W.C.A., Women's Institutes, Red Cross, Junior Leagues, etc.) was formally presented to the CAAE Executive, with a tentative budget of $12,000 over three years, and the assurance that the Citizenship Branch, Ottawa, had indicated a willingness to finance at least some parts of the work (CAAE Exec. July 2,1964). The project was approved and began operation in the fall, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Mozah Zemens of the National Council of Jewish Women.

In the subsequent three years, the broadly based committee met regularly, a monograph on "Voluntary Participation in Canada: A Comparative Analysis", was commissioned and completed, a special issue of Interim (3,2, 1966) was devoted to the project, and in 1967, regional workshops were held in Regina and Vancouver and a national seminar in Toronto. The original funding for the project ran out in 1968 and further deliberations were required as to its future. The reaction of the CAAE Executive was somewhat testy. Apparently the committee requested an advance out of CAAE funds (against an expected outside grant) and a further outright grant of $3,500. The latter was turned down and in the end, an advance of $1,000 agreed upon (CAAE Exec. Apr.17,1968).

Further funds from the Citizenship Branch were forthcoming the following year and the committee entered into an ambitious program involving eight studies related to government/voluntary associations relations. Each topic was to be the subject of a background paper, a seminar and then the publication of a pamphlet on the topic, to receive wide distribution. In the end only two of these topics were developed, "The Advisory Board or Council" and "Grants, Contracts and Subsidies". In the annual report for 1968-69, it was stated that the pamphlets on each were being distributed to approximately 15,000 persons in the English version and 5,000 in the French. Although it was recognized that the Voluntary Action Committee was doing important work, the Board and Executive came to feel that the outside grants were not fully covering the costs of the projects and they also

were concerned that the relatively large requests for funds for this work might interfere with the main supporting grant being received annually. Thomas kept this matter under control, but within months of his departure there was an open clash between the CAAE governing bodies and the committee and thereafter there was considerable tension in the relationship (CAAE Bd. May 21; Exec. Sept.9,1970).

New Partners and Concerns

During the decade, the CAAE entered several new program areas, as a result of changes and opportunities in the field. That the CAAE responded to these opportunities, many of which involved working with new groups of specialists who were not generally seen as part of the field of adult education, was a result largely of Thomas' leadership and his readiness to see the CAAE's concerns to relate to all who had an impact on adult learning, not just the traditional adult educators who had made up the membership of the organization.

The two groups which illustrate this point most clearly were those involved in human relations training and those in guidance and counselling. The human relations training project (HRT) was a classic case of Thomas' actions preceding his opportunity to consult with his Executive. Early in 1963, at a time when the CAAE was badly in need of project funds, Thomas secured a grant of $5,000 from the Citizenship Branch to organize a national "consultative conference" on HRT. When the matter was presented to the CAAE Executive in early 1963, Thomas ran into some serious questions as to whether this was an appropriate concern for the CAAE (CAAE Exec. Jan.15,1963). The event was held, however, in late April, and arising out of that came a request from the group that they be constituted as a standing group affiliated with the CAAE. In the end, the CAAE decided to form a Commission for HRT, which would function as an affiliate (CAAE Exec. Jan.24,1964). In the subsequent period, the Commission had difficulty raising sufficient funds to carry out its activities, but did conduct a series of regional or provincial "labs" (CAAE AR 1966-67). The Commission was reactivated in the following year under the leadership of Michael Clague and a most successful national conference was held in April 1968 (CAAE Exec. Apr.17,1968; AR 1967-68). The Board of the CAAE continued to have concerns as to whether the Commission was a drain on CAAE resources (CAAE Bd. June 5-6,1968). By early 1969, questions were being raised as to when the Commission's affiliation would come to an end (CAAE Bd. Jan.31-Feb.2, 1969). After a planning meeting in Toronto in the fall of 1969 and a further national conference in February of 1970, just before Thomas' departure, the HRT group founded an autonomous organization and terminated its formal links with the CAAE (CAAE Exec. Feb.13, Apr.8,1970).

The involvement in a project on guidance and counselling, although briefer than that with the HRT specialists, was in some respects parallel to it. Once again, it appears that Thomas raised some funds from government, this time from the National Employment Service, which made possible a project which he had trouble selling to his Executive. There was some question at the outset, in mid-1963, as to whether the project would involve the CAAE in a professional area outside its proper concerns, but once again, Thomas carried the Executive with him (CAAE Exec. July 25, Nov.6,1963). Fortunately, grants totalling approximately $9,000 were secured to support the event, a most successful national conference was held in November, and a series of successful publications were prepared for practitioners. When, as in the case of the HRT group, the guidance and counselling committee expressed a wish to affiliate with the CAAE while it went through an organizational stage in creating an independent body, the affiliation was approved, but a further request for secretarial services was refused (CAAE Exec. Jan.24,1964). A further national conference under CAAE auspices held in the fall of 1965 led to the formation of an autonomous Canadian Guidance and Counselling Association, and after some disagreement over the disposition of the surplus from the meeting, an amicable parting of the ways was the outcome (CAAE Bd. Jan.21-23, Exec. Mar.3,1966).

In both of these cases, two important features of the Thomas years were evident. One was the familiar problem of the Director having to find funding where he could and undertake activities which might not otherwise be high priority for the Association. The other was that Thomas' view of the centrality of adult learning, as distinct from adult education, led him to a wider view of the concerns of the Association than most leaders of the CAAE shared.

The CAAE sponsored activities on other specialized professional concerns as well. In 1962, with financial assistance from the Canadian Conference on Education and the Citizenship Branch, a seminar was organized on Teaching Machines and Programmed Instruction, which was held in Toronto. The papers presented were published as the first special supplement carried by Continuous Learning, in the spring of 1962 (CL 1,2). Little information is available, but it appears that a seminar on Measurement and Evaluation was carried out in April of 1965.

A further major project involved the training of community development workers in association with ARDA, the Agricultural Reconstruction and Development Agency of the federal government. In December 1964, after some months of negotiations with ARDA and the ICEA, a contract was signed under which the two adult education bodies would provide consultation to ARDA on the training of community development personnel. The CAAE Board was enthusiastic about the project (CAAE Bd. Dec.3-5,

1964) and it involved co-operation with the ICEA, which pleased Thomas. That the project was also well financed, with a good margin for overhead expenses, made it ideal (CAAE Exec. Oct.23,1964). It was managed by a joint committee on which all three organizations were represented. Two national seminars and a series of meetings of the management committee produced a printed report, which was submitted to the Minister at the end of April 1965 (CAAE Bd. June 2-3,1965). It was hoped that further activities of this kind would be funded, and the matter was discussed further as late as March 1967, by the CAAE Executive, but no further project materialized (CAAE AR 1965-66; Exec. Mar.7,1967).

Commission for the Community College

The most substantial project undertaken by the CAAE during the Thomas years was the Commission for the Community College. Thomas and others had a particular interest in the community college as a source of opportunities for adult education and at least as early as March of 1963, Thomas raised with the Executive the matter of programming in that area (CAAE Exec. Mar.4,1963). A year later, he engaged in consultations with the Canadian Education Association about a possible seminar about college development in Canada, and after he reminded the CAAE Executive of the Kellogg Foundation's interest in the college movement, they authorized him to explore the possibilities (CAAE Exec. May 26,1964). More and more items about community colleges appeared in Continuous Learning in 1965. In June of that year, a conference on Adult Education and the Community College was held in Ottawa in connection with the annual meeting. This meeting is seen by the college movement in Canada as the beginning of the process which led eventually to the creation of a national college association (Outline History of the ACCC n.d.). A printed conference report was published. In May 1966, a National Seminar on the Community College was held, organized by the CAAE and this time, co-sponsored with several other national organizations interested in the college movement. The emerging college systems in B.C., Alberta, Ontario and Quebec were examined at this conference. Early in 1967, the CAAE assisted with a seminar on the subject held in Ontario for provincial purposes, and when reporting to the Board at the end of January, Thomas indicated that he was "pursuing the possibility of a National Commission for Community Colleges in Canada, sponsored by the CAAE for three years" (CAAE Bd. Jan.28-29,1967). Soon thereafter negotiations with the Kellogg Foundation were begun in earnest (CAAE Exec. Mar.7,1967) and by the fall, the project was approved in principle (CAAE Exec. Oct.26,1967). In mid-December, Thomas informed the Executive that he had heard by telephone that Kellogg had approved a three year grant of $202,800 for the project, which was to

begin on April 1, 1968 (CAAE Exec. Dec.13,1967). Mr. Bert Curtis of Algonquin College, Ottawa, a longstanding member of the CAAE Board, was named chairman of the new Commission at the same meeting. Some consternation was expressed over the fact that the original request had been for $250,000 and that the reduction had largely been at the expense of amounts provided for overhead costs. The budget and constitution of the new body were carefully worked through in the ensuing months, there clearly being some concern that the new Commission might come to dominate the CAAE (CAAE Exec. Aug.12,1968). In the early fall of 1968, Continuous Learning formally announced the composition of the Board of the new Commission and that Robert Gwilliam had been named the Project Director. The Commission was described as follows (Commission for the Community College 1968, p.203):

> Over a three year period, it will cover statistical services and information exchange to the colleges, giving aid for special studies of curriculum, administration, faculty relations and professional programs. A major national conference will be convened each year.

The Board of the Commission was representative of six provinces and made up largely of persons connected with the colleges rather than with the CAAE.

The National Commission for the Community College was a particularly successful venture, but was not without its problems, as far as the CAAE was concerned. The project, as planned, carried out its work for three years, concluding at the end of 1970, almost a year after Thomas' departure. The Commission organized many activities intended to assist and influence the community college systems as they emerged and developed across the country. They included: annual major conferences; workshops and specialized conferences on such topics as transferability of credit, staff development, finance and Canadian studies; co-operation with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics; publication of a tabloid newsletter, "College Canada" (25,000 to 45,000 copies per issue); a series of "hearings" each year in various parts of the country to stir interest in college development and get local input; and information services of various kinds. The Commission amassed a list of 85 colleges by the end of its first year of operation, which grew to 105 by a year later. It was a goal of the Commission from the beginning to aim towards the creation of a permanent, autonomous organization of colleges after the Kellogg project concluded, and it was apparent from the beginning that there was support for such an outcome. As Curtis, the chairman of the Commission has put it (personal communication Jan.6,1984):

> None of us envisioned the size, scope, and strength of the development of the community college movement....By the time the Commission

> had travelled the country and held meetings (say one and a half years into the three year project), it was obvious that the community college movement was bigger than the CAAE and that a separate association was wanted by the college people....By the time we came to the colleges' assembly in November, 1970, there were 153 voting delegates and there were 151 votes for the formation of an association.

It was an idea whose time had come. At the assembly in November 1970, most colleges in Canada, Ministries of Education and other related associations were represented and the objectives and guidelines for the new organization were approved. The Commission was made possible by the largest grant the CAAE had received in its history and by any standard must be judged an outstanding success.

There were some problems along the way. The Director of the project (the staff was up to four at one point, but was usually three) was judged not to be performing satisfactorily and it was arranged that he resign, early in 1970. The CAAE Board and Executive felt at times that they were not being kept adequately informed about the project (CAAE Exec. Jan.16, Mar.20,1969; Feb.13,1970), but it was sorted out to everyone's satisfaction in the end.

International Activities

International relationships had been a major theme in CAAE activities during the directorship of Thomas' predecessor. Thomas also had an active interest in such work and acted internationally as opportunities presented themselves.

The most ambitious project during the decade involved relationships with adult education organizations and leaders elsewhere in the Americas. With the Canadian centennial in mind, suggestions were made as early as 1963 that the two major American adult education associations, the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. (AEA) and the National Association of Public School Adult Educators (NAPSAE) be invited to hold a joint conference in Canada in 1967, with the CAAE and the ICEA. The matter was discussed at the CAAE annual meeting in June of 1963 and such a plan was authorized (CAAE AM June 1,1963). When it was discussed at an Executive meeting later in the month, Thomas reported that the American bodies had suggested the proposed conference be widened to include all of North America (CAAE Exec. June 27,1963). It appears that the American leaders were anxious to involve Mexicans in a regional consultation but were aware that strong initiatives from the United States would not be well received by the Mexican organizations. The American bodies offered to pay the expenses of the two Canadian Directors to go to Mexico and try to arrange such a meeting (CAAE Exec. Jan.24,1964).

Arising out of these beginnings and subsequent meetings in the United States

and Mexico, a North American Conference on Adult Education, attended by some 125 delegates, was held in Montreal, October 22-24, 1967. In the end, the two American organizations, AEA and NAPSAE, did not hold their conferences in Canada, but sent representatives to the international meeting. There was difficulty along the way arranging satisfactory Mexican representation, but in the end, several Mexican educators did attend. Attempts to secure funding for the meeting from the Ford Foundation were not successful, but grants were obtained from the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, the Quebec government and from the Citizenship Branch, Ottawa. There was also a plan that out of the conference would come a North American Bureau of Adult Education, a parallel organization to a European regional body already in existence (CAAE Bd. Jan.28,1967; Exec. Mar.7, May 25,1967).

The conference approved the establishment of an Inter-American Committee for Adult Education, with Thomas as its first chairman. There were to be four members of the committee from each of the three participating countries, in Canada, to be divided equally between the CAAE and the ICEA. Subsequent meetings of the committee in Mexico City in June of 1968 and in Washington a year later extended the contacts, but difficulty in maintaining satisfactory Mexican representation continued. A further conference planned at one time for Mexico in 1971 was never held. When Thomas left the directorship in 1970, he continued to serve as a CAAE representative on the committee, but the necessary continuing support and co-operation were simply not there and the committee ceased to meet beyond that year (CAAE Exec. Oct.27,1967, Dec.14,1969; Bd. Jan.30,1970; AM June 6,1968; CL 7,3, 1968, p.131).

Late in the decade, an International Projects Committee was established. Although its functions were subsequently to become quite broadly defined, during Thomas' tenure the immediate task appears to have been to provide a means by which funds from the Canadian International Development Agency could be received and channelled to projects in India for which they had been raised by Roby Kidd, former Director and member of the committee (CAAE Bd. Oct.6,1969; Exec. Nov.5,1969, April 8,1970).

Other Programs

Brief reference will be made to several other significant programs and projects carried out during the period.

Thomas had been active in educational travel activities while at Columbia University and had great interest in that field. The CAAE had a committee on educational travel for a few years in the latter half of the decade, assisted member institutions with planning for educational travel to other parts of Canada,

experimented with audiotape aids for tours, and in the fall of 1969, organized a major conference on education travel methods, held in Ottawa.

One unusual program activity, held in 1967, involved the staff of the Association as consultants or process experts. The Steel Company of Canada hosted a three day "Industrial Confrontation" in Hamilton, at which that firm and others made public statements about their activities, with members of the public and organizational representatives given an opportunity to respond and critique the firms' positions. Alan Thomas and Milton Pummell represented the CAAE and managed the process of the meeting. Although Thomas reported to the Executive that the meeting had been very successful and that more would be held (CAAE Exec. Mar.7,1967), there is no evidence of further such meetings.

A committee on consumer education was active in 1968 and the following year, holding several meetings. Attempts to get funding for a major activity in this field which appeared hopeful in the fall of 1969 (CAAE Exec. Nov.5,1969) were not in fact realized and likely were left in abeyance after Thomas' departure a few months later.

In late 1967, the Association arranged a contract with the federal Department of Industry under which the CAAE prepared a course of study for industrial development officers in the department. The course was developed by staff employed for the purpose, was field tested with a group in June of 1968, and submitted in completed form in July. It consisted of a 250 page typescript course of studies under ten major headings.

One noteworthy project during the period was a series of study tours across Canada for foreign service officers of the Department of External Affairs. These were designed to help acquaint newly hired officers with the various regions of Canada, before they went abroad to represent Canada elsewhere. The CAAE designed the tours, in co-operation with External Affairs, conducted some program events which were held in Ontario, and involved some of the divisions of CAAE in conducting events in other regions. There was a reasonable amount of overhead money available in the project and co-operating divisions did well financially as a result of taking part. There were four such tours arranged in the late sixties.

The foregoing represent not all, but perhaps the major program activities conducted by the Association during the Thomas years. Some other potentially major programs were discussed but were dropped when necessary outside funding could not be obtained. These included the development of a curriculum for adults on science, a computer-assisted information system on programs and materials for adult education, and a major five year program for training and development in

the field. The organization of program activities and solicitation for supporting funds was a constant preoccupation of the Director, as it had been throughout the Association's history. Within only a few weeks after Thomas' departure in early 1970 the lack of income for projects brought on, or deepened the financial problems of the organization.

SERVICES

The Association's Journals

Alan Thomas used the journal of the Association as one of the chief instruments at his disposal for achieving his ends. He was a man of ideas; he sought to change the courseof national thinking with respect to the role and significance of learning in national life. Clearly one of the avenues open to him to influence others--national policy makers, educators, and of course the field of adult education itself--was the journal of the Association, which had been published continuously since the founding of the CAAE in 1936. When Thomas joined the staff of the CAAE, its journal was called Food For Thought, as it had been since 1940. He wanted the publication not just to be a source of articles about random aspects of the field, but a leading intellectual force for the movement. He wanted the CAAE to support an ideology, and the journal was a means of stating the case he wanted to make (personal communication, Aug.10,1983).

Thomas thought that the title, Food For Thought, was rather innocuous, and did not convey the sense of purpose and direction he sought. In the very first month he was on the staff of the Association, he worked out a series of suggested changes in the journal and the editor, Mrs. Eleanor Graham, brought them forward to the Executive meeting in late September 1961. The proposals included a change of name, a reduction from eight to six issues a year, and as Thomas is quoted in the minutes as saying, that the journal become "one of the liveliest magazines in the country"(CAAE Exec. Sept.22,1961). The changes proposed, which were approved by the Executive, were to come into effect with the new year, 1962. Volume 1, Number 1 of the new journal, Continuous Learning, was dated January-February 1962. It was slightly larger in format and generally more sprightly looking than its predecessor. A bit of style and tone was added with the use of such headings as "Intelligencer" as the title of the news section, "Parameter" as the title of an article length comment section, and the continuation of Roby Kidd's "Ensemble" column. Although Thomas clearly wished to use the journal to provide intellectual leadership and persuasive influence in the Canadian community, it is noteworthy

that he chose to try to do so in the name of the CAAE. The journal featured the symbol of the organization, a stylized tree of knowledge, and the name of the Association prominently on the cover of the journal and consistently, throughout the decade, CL was used as a house organ for the CAAE, carrying much information about the organization's activities and concerns.

Eleanor Graham remained as editor of CL for only the first three issues. From that point on, Thomas took over the task, with the help of an assistant editor. This arrangement was maintained until 1966, when Don MacNeill joined the staff as Managing Editor of the journal. There were several distinct changes in style or format during the decade. With the first issue in 1966, there was a new layout, more use of open space, bold black lines used between news items, and a generally more striking appearance. Two years later, perhaps as an economy measure, the paper stock became thinner and the print more compact, with less open space. In the meantime, with the first issue in 1967, soon after the official opening of "Corbett House"--the name given to the new offices--a line drawing of the headquarters was used on the cover of the journal thus reinforcing its connection with the Association itself. The last issue edited by Thomas before he left the Association was the first number in 1970.

Nine more issues were produced before the journal ceased publication, in the rather chaotic and demoralized period of the early seventies. At the special membership meeting in December of 1970, at which basic decisions were made about the future of the Association, the former Director, Roby Kidd, offered to work with a volunteer group for a period of time to keep the journal going. It was agreed that a group based at Kidd's institution, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, would take over the editorial duties for a two year period, until the CAAE was ready to resume responsibility for it (CAAE Exec. Jan.12,1971). In the end, this arrangement was maintained for only one year, the last issue appearing as Vol. 10, No. 6, dated Nov.-Dec., 1971.

There is little information available as to the circulation of CL. In her report to the National Council in early 1961 on Food For Thought, Eleanor Graham has stated that the circulation of the journal had been approximately 1,800 copies a month and that this had been the case for the previous six or seven years (CAAE NC Jan.20,1961). The only other firm figures on circulation which are available are for CL during its first full year of publication, 1962. Circulation for the year showed a steady increase during the year, moving from 1,896 to 2,071, with an average of 1,934. At the end of 1972, there were 498 subscribers to CL, in addition to the CAAE members, who received it as part of their membership services (CAAE NC Feb.8,1963). Although no other circulation figures have been located,

it is known that the membership of the Association doubled over the decade, increasing by approximately 750, so it may well be that the monthly circulation increased by approximately that amount, at least.

There were a number of regular features in CL which helped to give it a distinctive flavor and some consistency. The most important influence was that of Thomas himself. He consciously used the journal as a means of advancing his ideas. He wrote the editorial for almost all issues, Parameter for most, and many other articles over the years (personal communication, Aug.10,1983). There were periods during which he wrote a substantial percentage of the content, anonymously or in his own name. The next most important person, in terms of the content of the journal, was Roby Kidd, the former Director of the Association. Having become by 1960 one of the most prominent adult educators in the world, Kidd had access to a wide range of information about the field, and he conveyed aspects of this to readers of CL during the decade through his regular column, "Ensemble". He also contributed several major articles. Kidd lived in several places and held several responsible positions during the decade, in Ottawa, India and Toronto, and his contributions to the journal represent a rich collection of fact and comment. A third consistent feature of the journal was its reporting on CAAE affairs. This was often covered in "Intelligencer", in articles and reports on CAAE meetings, including annual meetings and major conferences, occasional sections headed "CAAE News", or something similar, lists of office-holders in the Association, reprinting of submissions the CAAE had made to public bodies, and towards the end of the decade, sometimes the entire annual report of the Association. Although Thomas wished to use the journal to reach a wider audience than just the CAAE membership, its function as a vehicle for informing the membership about the work of the Association was very prominent.

The content of Food For Thought during the fifties increasingly emphasized matters of professional concern in the field (Selman 1982) and this trend continued in the sixties. Also prominent were Thomas' efforts to point out the relationship between the potential of learning and the public issues of the day. In his study of the evolution of the CAAE journals, Walter Stewart (1983) identified two main foci in CL during 1965, a year he examined in detail. One was the "clearing house" function--news about adult education people, programs, training opportunities, etc. The other was what he termed "articles on current adult education issues and on the relationship of adult education and current social issues" (Stewart 1983, p.44). He notes the number of articles on education for women and the number of what he terms professional articles. He sums up his observations by calling CL "a trade or craft magazine for adult education rather

than a professional journal"(p.47). He characterizes the journals during the 1950s and 1960s as being directed at "an increasingly narrow audience", largely institution-based adult educators and a field which was "becomingly increasingly professionalized and institutionalized". With respect to Thomas' ideas, as they were revealed in the 1965 issues, he sees a reflection of "the challenges confronting democracy"(pp.61,66).

A closer examination of the contents of CL during this decade indicates some alternative and further observations. Certainly, compared to previous decades, there is much more material in the journal which is addressed to the professional interests of adult educators. These items include: several long directories of professional training programs at universities in Canada, the U.S. and abroad, sometimes taking up most of the issue; articles on research and research needs; articles on the development of the field in particular institutional settings, such as education in industry and in the emerging college systems; systems; commentaries on the statistical work of the Domunion Bureau of Statistics concerning adult education; examinations of the characteristics of professionalism as they apply to adult education; theoretical pieces on such matters as the nature of skills; examinations of emerging fields of specialty, such as continuing professional education, adult basic education and education for women; and several pieces on the roles, functions and social relevance of adult education.

There were several special issues and supplements to the journal. It was announced at the outset of the new title and format that there would be such special issues from time to time, but there were in fact few. The first, which appeared in the second issue (CL 1,2, 1962) was a supplement on Teaching Machines and Programmed Instruction. The largest supplement, which was published early in 1966, was on "Religion and Adult Education". Other topics receiving such treatment, sometimes declared to be special supplements and sometimes just a concentration of articles on a particular subject, included Canadian foreign aid, educational television and innovative program in the Lakehead area, "Town Talk".

A review of the articles provides an indication of the emerging aspects of practice and of programming, and of the social issues to which the field was responding. A sampling of these topics includes: the changing role of women, pollution and other environmental concerns, Expo - 1967, poverty, community development, international relations and foreign aid, French-English relations in Canada, aging and education for older people, education for prisoners, manpower training, retraining, and education for the disadvantaged. The journal also gave considerable space to printing submissions which the CAAE had made to Royal Commissions and other public bodies.

Thomas had his eye particularly on the policy makers and adult education leaders in editing the journal. There was criticism from time to time, especially from the provincial divisions, presumably reflecting the views of the grass roots membership, that the journal was not of interest or use to them (CAAE Bd. June 22, 1967; June 5,1968). Earlier in the decade, Thomas had acknowledged criticism of the journal, when he commented in an editorial that there were readers "who quite legitimately urge us to be more practical in our approach"(Thomas 1963e, p.149). If one was looking to CL to be a practical manual of practice in the field, one was bound to be dissatisfied with it. Practical in that sense, it was not, and was never intended to be. A review of the journal from this distance in time also reveals that there were times during the decade when the journal was somewhat thin, and with little obvious sense of direction. These times were the exception, however. By and large, when reviewing the entire run of CL for the decade, one is struck by the dynamism and earnestness of effort which clearly informs all aspects of the journal. At these times, it seems truly a journal of ideas, an effort to stir the field of adult education and other educational decision makers to new thought about the role of adult learning in Canadian society.

Other Publications

The sixties were an active period as far as the publications program of the CAAE was concerned. Some items represented a continuation of the sort of publications the Association has produced in the past: Farm and Citizen's Forum support material; occasional pamphlets on a variety of subjects; the Association's journal; and the publication of a further book of readings on the development of the field in Canada. But in addition, an impressive range of other publishing activities was undertaken, including: several specialized newsletters; precis and comments on significant public documents such as Royal Commission reports; and the White Paper on the role of adult learning in Canada, which was used as a vehicle for a major advocacy effort. Taken together, this publications program represents an impressive effort to serve the field, the members of the Association, and interested members of the public. It is a further manifestation of the ambition and "reach" which Thomas displayed in his efforts to influence both his colleagues in adult education and the broader society.

The Forum projects both came to an end during the decade, but while they continued, they involved major publication efforts. Farm Forum Guide continued much as it had in the previous decade (Selman 1982), involving news of Forum group activities and other materials as well as the background information on the

broadcast topics. The Citizen's Forum pamphlets remained much the same as previously, restricted to information on broadcast topics, but as the program experimented with having several broadcasts deal with aspects of the same topic and leaving some topics open so that current topics could be inserted closer to broadcast time, the pattern of publication was altered. With the termination of these two major projects, the end of an important era for the Association was reached, and in the case of Citizen's Forum, staff time was released for other tasks.

Some impression of the scale of the publications effort of the Association can be gained from the periodic comprehensive listings published in Continuous Learning and the newsletters. The annual report for 1967-68, for instance, listed eight publications for the year, over and above the journal. The report for the following year lists five different periodicals and five other publications, one of which had sales in the 20,000 range. In the summer of 1968, the journal carried a listing on the inside and outside back cover which listed 16 publications being distributed by the Association, 12 of which were published by the CAAE.

The Association had a commitment, under the terms of one of the grants obtained from the Fund for Adult Education in the late 1950s (Selman 1982) to publish a volume of readings on adult education in Canada, a successor volume to Adult Education in Canada, which was published in 1950. Like the earlier volume, this one was edited by Roby Kidd. It appeared in 1963 under the title, Learning and Society, consisted of 414 pages of text and included approximately 60 different authors, all the items except the editor's contributions having been published previously, many in the CAAE journals. This volume reflected clearly the advancing professionalism in the field, when contrasted with the earlier volume (Selman 1982). There were 1,500 copies printed in the first run, at a cost of $6,000, one third of which came from the FAE funds (CAAE Exec. May 14, June 27,1963). Advertisements for the volume appeared in the journal for several issues in early-mid-1963 and when the book appeared later in the year, three book reviews were published in the same issue (CL 2,6, 1963, pp.272-83).

One of the most significant facets of the publications program in the sixties might be summed up under the heading public affairs and advocacy. As part of its efforts in the field of education about public affairs, the Association launched into a new field under Thomas' leadership, the production of precis of public documents, most notably the reports of important royal commissions. This work was done largely by Isabel Wilson, the outstandingly skilled staff member who had for many years been the editor/author of the Citizen's Forum pamphlet series. Few Canadians, even those interested in the subject, were likely to

acquire and read the full reports of royal commissions. The CAAE decided to publish a precis of some such reports and make them available at very low cost (usually 10¢ per copy), for the benefit of interested persons and organizations.

The report of the Fowler Committee on Broadcasting was summarized in Continuous Learning (Broadcasting 1965). The first separate publication was prepared in connection with the Hall Commission on health services for Canadians, which was also the subject of a major programming effort, in 1965 (see above). By early the next year, approximately 25,000 copies of the pamphlet had been sold, a best seller by Canadian standards (CAAE Bd. Jan.21-23,1966). A pamphlet summarizing the report of the Royal Commission on Taxation was published in 1967. The most ambitious venture of this kind consisted of the publication of summaries of the successive volumes of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, as they appeared in the latter years of the decade. The summary of the first volume was advertised late in 1967 and the original printing consisted of 15,000 copies in English and 5,000 in French. It was necessary to print an additional run of the English edition (CAAE AR 1968-69) and in the spring of 1969, it was stated in Continuous Learning that "more than 25,000" had been distributed (CL 8,2, 1969). The resume of volumes 2 and 3 of the report were published by the time Thomas left the Association early in 1970 (CL 9,1, 1970) and others followed in the ensuing months. Publications on national policy concerning adult education and on the manpower policy for the federal government were also published in quantity, and will be dealt with below under advocacy activities.

A major publication effort in these years was the production of a series of newsletters for the field. These will be dealt with in the section under information and research, below. Their production was clearly a recognition of, and effort to serve, emerging new interest groups and specialized areas of practice in the field.

Reference has been made in the program section above to the several publications issued by the Association in the fields of citizenship education and the project on voluntary action in Canada. There were also several publications arising from the community colleges project.

A number of other publications were issued. They included a booklet on how to learn French, which was subsidized by the Citizenship Branch and published by the University of Toronto, a substantial pamphlet on the history of extension work of The University of British Columbia, the separate publication of supplements which had been incorporated in the journal (the one on Religion and Adult Education was an especially big seller), and a series of modest, article and monograph length items, such as surveys of training needs for particular groups

of practitioners. In 1967, the Association announced the beginning of a new series of "basic, informative, vital manuals on adult education" (CL 6,5, 1967, p.226), referred to as the "How to..." series. The first, and as far as is known, only pamphlet published in the series was written by Milton Pummell of the staff, on the topic How to Start an Adult Education Program (1967) aimed at school boards.

Information, Research and Library Services

In keeping with his ambitions for the CAAE, Thomas had high expectations for the Association's activities as a source of information and research data for the field. The level of activity maintained in these areas was impressive, but as in some other areas of the Association's work, was in the long run found to be beyond the CAAE's means. With the near collapse of the organization after his departure, almost all of these activities ceased.

After Thomas joined the staff in 1961, he supported strongly the work of Diana Ironside and the support staff in the library and this policy continued throughout the decade. The report of the committee responsible for overseeing this work which was made to the National Council early in 1963 indicated that an active program of work was being maintained, including an active acquisitions, cataloguing and lending program, the preparations of bibliographies, issuance of news releases and the publication of a bi-monthly Association newsletter, Interim, launched late the previous year (CAAE NC Feb.8,1963). The library was regularly described in Continuous Learning and elsewhere as the "CAAE National Research Library in Adult Education". The information services of the Association were maintained at an active level throughout the decade, even after major portions of the library were sold in 1967. The Association devoted three pages of Continuous Learning in the last issue of 1967 to advertising the information services, emphasizing three particularly, "Information Service Sheets", "Trends" and directories (CL 6,6, 1967, ff.p.286). The latter were to be directories of personnel and appear to have been restricted to the field of school board adult education. The information service sheets were lists of books, pamphlets, articles, films and tapes available from the CAAE, separate ones prepared for 14 different areas of specialty. By 1969, "over 1,000" persons were on the mailing list for this service (CAAE AR 1968-69). The service sheets were available free of charge, but the other service, "Trends", cost $2.00 per quarterly issue or $6.00 for the year. This series began in 1968 and each issue contained an annotated list of current holdings and new materials of significance, each issue being devoted to a single area of practice. Only three issues appeared, however, and the series ceased in 1969.

The Association sold the bulk of its library holdings in 1967. For some years it had been a matter of discussion within the Association as to whether it could satisfactorily maintain and staff a sizeable library collection. Early in 1960, when the CAAE was facing the prospect of having to move its office, the chairman of the Executive pointed out that it was difficult to plan for the space required in view of the uncertainty concerning "the housing and future of the CAAE library"(CAAE Exec. Jan.26,1960). It is clear from the Executive minutes later in the year that discussions were entered into with the Toronto Public Library concerning their acquisition or management of the CAAE's collection (CAAE Exec. Feb.23, 1960). The very serious financial situation of the Association in late 1966 and early 1967 apparently led to the revival of such a plan. By this time, the former Director of the Association, Roby Kidd, was chairman of the Adult Education Department of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) and negotiations were entered into with that organization for a possible purchase. The Board authorized the Executive in January to explore the conditions under which the library might be sold (CAAE Bd. Jan.28-29,1967) and Thomas' mid-year report to the same meeting made it clear that OISE was the prospective buyer. During the spring, a period during which the financial position of the Association was particularly grim (CAAE Exec. Mar.7, May 25,1967), discussions with OISE officials were carried forward. In June a formal letter was sent offering the transfer in return for a purchase price of $50,000 and later in the same month such an arrangement was formally approved by both the Board and annual meeting of the Association (CAAE Bd. June 22; AM June 23, 1967). What was sold to OISE was not the whole of the library collection but the bulk of it, the Association retaining those portions needed to support their information services.

Four newsletters were published by the Association for varying lengths of time. The longest running of these was Interim. It was a general newsletter for the field and was clearly part of Thomas' efforts to promote the professionalization of the field. It was to appear in the months between the bimonthly publication of the journal and was clearly aimed at adult education practitioners. Each issue was identified as being about a particular area or topic, or for those working in a particular sector of the field. A lead article and usually some other items were related to that field and then other miscellaneous news items followed, to fill out the issue. It was mailed free of charge to members, and to others who requested to be on the mailing list. Interim began publication in late 1962 and was published fairly regularly until 1966. From 1967 to 1969, only one issue was published each year, the annual report for 1968-69 explaining that

this was due to "budgetary restrictions". Like so many other CAAE activities, Interim did not survive Thomas' departure.

A second newsletter was Accent. It was issued for those engaged in school board sponsored adult education programs and was managed in consultation with the standing committee on this aspect of the field. The first issue appeared in March of 1967 and the publication continued until 1969, during which time a total of eight issues were published. It was edited by Milton Pummell, the part-time staff member who worked in this area.

For a short period in 1968 and 1969, the CAAE published a newsletter entitled Meeting Poverty. This had been issued previously by the Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council Office, Ottawa, but was taken over by the CAAE, under contract, in the spring of 1968 (CAAE Exec. April 17,1968). The newsletter was sent to approximately 4,000 persons, presumably to a mailing list which was also taken over from the government department. Three issues were published by mid-1969 and there is reference to a fourth being prepared (CAAE AR 1968-69), but such a further issue has not been discovered.

The fourth newsletter was College Canada, which was a publication of the Commission for the Community College and has been referred to above.

The Association co-operated with the ICEA and OISE in the publication of a directory, Non-degree Research in Adult Education in Canada 1967-68 (1968). Edited by James Draper of OISE (English) and Paul Belanger of the ICEA (French), this was the first of a series of such directories which were compiled in subsequent years.

In view of the financial resources and staff time available, it was a tribute to Thomas and his colleagues that so much and varied useful publication and information services were produced during the decade. It may be seen as an integral part of the effort, inspired by Thomas, to have an influence on the thinking and development of the rapidly growing field. An indication of how crucial Thomas' leadership was to these accomplishments was the fact that almost all of them failed to survive his departure from the organization.

ADVOCACY ACTIVITIES

Since the earliest days of the CAAE, the organization had acted as an advocate on behalf of adult education and in the interest of widening the learning opportunities for adults in Canadian society. Whereas in the very early years, it had made pronouncements on broad matters of social policy, it had since the late 1940s tended to concentrate its attention more narrowly on matters directly

related to adult learning (Faris 1975; Selman 1981, 1982). Thomas and the other leaders of the Association throughout the 1960s attached great importance to this function as well and a great deal of energy and resources were invested in such efforts.

The advocacy activities may be seen as falling into several categories, as indicated in the earlier section on Thomas' leadership.

Two cases of attempting to influence the methodology of public inquiries were particularly noteworthy. Thomas was of the view that how royal commissions and other such public bodies carried out their hearings and presented their reports could have a major impact on the educational value for Canadians of the whole process. The Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life in Saskatchewan in the early fifties was seen by many as an exemplary model, one which maximized the educational impact of the public inquiry process. When in 1963 the federal government appointed the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Commission convened a series of preliminary hearings designed to clarify its mandate and provide an opportunity to discuss its procedures. The CAAE communicated its views by correspondence to the co-chairmen of the commission in the late summer and presented a formal brief in early November (CAAE Exec. Sept.19,1963; Royal Commission 1963). The brief stressed the importance of the potential education impact of the commission's proceedings. It recommended regional hearings and forums in all parts of the country and also that the commission not leave it to various groups to come forward but actively go out and seek the views of certain significant groups, at the local, provincial and national levels. In short, it recommended ways to facilitate what it termed "a prolonged two-way exchange between the commission and the citizens of Canada" (Royal Commission 1963, p.245).

A somewhat similar effort was made in connection with the federal government's Task Force on Government Information. When it was appointed in 1968, the Association approached the commissioners with the suggestion that if they would finance the meetings, the CAAE, through its partners, would convene regional meetings at which the views of a variety of organizations could be presented and discussed. Such events were held in Vancouver in December 1968, and in Halifax the following month. The ICEA held a meeting in Montreal (CAAE Bd. Sept.20,1968; Exec. Nov.14,1968; AR 1968-69). A similar proposal was made to the Senate Committee on Poverty in the fall of 1969, but the Committee decided to organize such meetings itself (CAAE Exec. Nov.5,1969).

The Association made presentations and presented briefs to a number of public inquiries during this period. In general it may be said that the main thrust or direction of these presentations was to recommend that Canadian society be so

ordered that there would be maximum opportunities and encouragement for all Canadians to learn, and to play an active, participating role in Canadian life. A list of the bodies to which submissions were made suggests something of the range and magnitude of these efforts:

1961 Senate Committee on Manpower and Unemployment

1962 National Centennial Council
Committee on Manpower and Training (Ontario)

1963 Royal Commission on Taxation

1964 Senate Committee on Aging
Select Committee on Youth (Ontario)

1965 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

1967 Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting

1968 Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting - Supplementary Brief on Television

1969 Royal Commission on the Status of Women
Task Force on Federal Government Information

1970 Senate Committee on Poverty

One of the most ambitious attempts to influence public opinion and policy was the preparation and publication in 1967 of A Report to the Canadian People on Manpower Development. (CAAE 1967b). The federal government had played an active role in stimulating and to some degree financing vocational and technical training since 1919 (Beck 1968). The Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act of 1960 had significantly stepped up the pace of this work, but still operated on the assumption that vocational training was a provincial prerogative and led to increased friction in federal-provincial relations (Wilson et al 1970). In 1967, the Pearson government passed the Adult Occupational Training Act. By its terms, the federal government entered directly into the field of adult vocational training and retraining on the grounds that it had the power to do so under its responsibility for general economic development, labor mobility and the general level of employment (Dupre et al 1973; Wilson et al 1970).

The CAAE had for some time been giving attention to this matter. In his report to the Board in January of 1966, Thomas had stated that he proposed to "undertake a study of the vocational training legislation"(CAAE Bd. Jan.21-23,1966). Early in 1967, the full text of the federal bill was printed in the journal and an editorial urged the government to engage in a wider public discussion of the matter (CL 6,2, 1967). A full issue of the newsletter, Accent, was devoted to the matter in August. In October, Thomas indicated to the Executive that he was preparing a report on the legislation (CAAE Exec. Oct.26,1967). The Board approved the document in mid-January, 1968, and the "Report to the Canadian People" was

issued, appearing both in Continuous Learning and as a separate pamphlet (CAAE 1967b). It was sharply critical of both the manner in which the new federal-provincial arrangements were negotiated, with no opportunity for public discussion, and also of some features of the plan itself. It was particularly critical of the eligibility for training regulations, under which the trainee must have been out of school for a full year and have previously been in the labor force for three years. These and other criticisms of the Act and of procedures established under it were currently forthcoming from several quarters (Wilson et al 1970). Two months later, while Thomas was on leave in Africa, the Acting Director, Gower Markle, reported to the Executive that the CAAE was receiving "most favorable comments" on the statement (CAAE Exec. Mar.8,1968).

This report was in certain respects a unique venture for the CAAE. Although it had frequently made submissions to public bodies which were soliciting opinion, the CAAE had not before spoken out in such an ambitious way on an issue about which a public response had not been invited. The statement may properly be seen as a manifestation of both Thomas' ambitions for the organization and as an illustration of how his concept of the learning society was applied in practice to an area of public policy. The preparation and publication of the statement was an example of the flair and ambition which Thomas displayed. It may also be seen as an extension of the same approach which the year before had led to the most ambitious of all attempts to influence educational policy, the White Paper on the Education of Adults in Canada (CAAE 1966b).

In the Association's Annual Report for 1965-66, the following statement appeared (p.16):

> The White Paper: This season marked the CAAE's largest adventure in policy determination in some years, if not in its history. It is more than 20 years since the Association has issued a formal manifesto, and five since it participated in the formulation of the statement issued by the World Conference. For all these reasons it was considered appropriate, if not urgent, for the Association to make a new public pronouncement. On April 5, in almost all provincial capitals, and at Ottawa, members of the Association participated in the release of this document. Of the 25,000 copies printed, roughly 20,000 have been distributed; about 15,000 free of charge and 5,000 sold. The price is set to cover mailing and promotion costs, but in no case has price been allowed to interfere with distribution to our colleagues. It was stressed at the time of release that the document was meant to open a discussion of national policy on these matters. It is hoped that it will be useful as a basis for discussion for the next two years and that by that time a new version will be issued. There are some indications that closer co-operation with ICEA can be arranged in a revised edition. The response to the White Paper both as to its design and content has been most heartening.

> Any suggestions for the further use of the statement will be welcome. A one-minute promotional film spot for showing on the national TV network is being produced in co-operation with the CBC.

Thomas had taken the lead in urging that the organization prepare a new statement of its principles, one which would promote the concept of the learning society. The Board meeting held in December of 1964 marked the beginning of the process. Out of a general review of CAAE activities, in which concern for public policy was given high priority, came a proposal that "a statement of national policy from CAAE" be prepared and published, and a committee was established to give guidance to the process (CAAE Bd. Dec.3-5,1964). The subsequent preparation of the White Paper was largely Thomas' work, with first the committee and later the Board and Executive, providing advice. The whole process took over a year. Thomas sought advice from public relations professionals concerning the release and publicity for the paper and worked through the provincial divisions, where he could, in arranging the local press conferences. The television spot announcement referred to above resulted from a $1,500 grant the Association made to the CBC for the purpose and some months after the release of the paper, it was reported that the spot had been run "sporadically" across the country (CAAE Bd. Jan.28-29,1967).

The main ideas contained in the White Paper have been described in an earlier section. It was an attempt to spell out some of the implications of the concept of the learning society for the goals and operation of the educational system. It consisted of eight closely packed printed pages in an 8 by 11 inch format, with a wrap-around cover. The contents were presented under four headings, Living is the Fifth Freedom, Principles, Proposals, and Conclusion. What was impressive about the whole effort was not only the ambitious nature of its contents but also the extent of the effort to make the statement known. It was highly unusual for the CAAE or any of its divisions to "go public" in the way utilized in this case. The influence of any such attempt at advocacy is impossible to measure, but it can be said that the White Paper was the most ambitious attempt at public advocacy on behalf of adult education which had ever been undertaken by the CAAE up to that time in its history. It was inspired and written, and the promotional process largely devised, by Thomas himself.

A DECADE OF LEADERSHIP

Thomas announced in December of 1969 that he would resign from the directorship, effective the end of February 1970. He had been offered a position as Executive Assistant to Robert Stanbury, a Minister in the Trudeau government who was soon to take up the Communications portfolio. Thomas also felt that he had been Director of the CAAE long enough for the Association's good.

For several months in early 1968, Thomas was on leave in East Africa, lecturing at several universities. He returned in the spring of that year and found himself facing a particularly difficult situation. On the one hand, the funds from the sale of the Association's library, which might have been expected to shore up the organization's finances for a time, had largely been expended. During his absence there had been little, if any, effort to raise funds for projects. As a result, the Board of the Association went to the Annual Meeting in June with a budget showing a sizeable deficit. And the annual meeting and conference with followed revealed some strongly felt dissatisfactions with how the Association was functioning. In commenting on the meeting in an editorial a few weeks later, Thomas referred to "anger, dismay and charges of irrational, irresponsible leadership"(Thomas 1968b, p.151). The divisional structure of the Association was proving too difficult for the small organization to manage, and as well, some divisions felt that the organization was out of touch with the needs of its members and that the national Board of Directors was tending to go its own way rather than take appropriate direction from the provincial bodies.

A further passage from Thomas' editorial perhaps indicates something of his feelings at the time (Thomas 1968b, p.149):

> Is the CAAE less valuable because it lives on the edge of the society, stumbles from bankruptcy to bankruptcy and faces a constant, never receding crossroad? Or is it that adult education, now institutionally powerful, on the verge of respectability, is less comfortable with a not-quite respectable, somewhat ramshackle, national organization? Can learning ever be respectable, ever be totally institutionalized into a permanent revolution?

There were other indications of some discouragement in ensuing months. In his annual report in 1968, Thomas suggested that the "sense of moment" in the CAAE was in need of strengthening (CAAE AR 1967-68, p.12). At other times he expressed concern about the general tone of the discussions about the future of the Association (Thomas 1969e). As Thomas has put it, he found the CAAE in a discouraging state when he returned from his leave and he "just did not want to start again" (personal communication, Aug.10,1983). He had served as Director as long as he

thought he should, he was offered an attractive position in Ottawa and he decided to make the move. He may have been reinforced in that view by his discomfort with the directions being taken by the Association by the time he left. There was emerging a model of future operations which he did not believe would work (personal communication, Aug.10,1983).

In his farewell editorial in Continuous Learning, Thomas wrote of his pleasure in having worked with the adult education community, referring to it as "the best company of any in the world", and characteristically, he returned to his old theme of learning, and threw out a challenge (Thomas 1970, pp.2,4):

> My tenure as Executive Director has just spanned the sixties. The curious thing is that in all the endless summations of that decade to which we have been treated in the past six weeks or so, none of those trained eyes and ears seemed to have noticed what we have.... What we have seen individually and collectively has been and remains a renaissance, we have seen learning bursting free from the institutions of the society and confronting them one after another, in particular, confronting the institutions of education. Nor has this learning been confined to the young. It has emerged everywhere. It has not yet directly confronted the scattered and diffused institutions of adult education, but very soon it will, and I do not believe we are ready. We are not learning fast enough ourselves or perhaps understanding the real meaning of the tumultuous events in which others seem to have been engaged.

Alan Thomas was a person of very considerable intellectual powers and he aimed at a basic rethinking of the concept of adult education and its role in society, and sought to build a close relationship between social policy in Canada and the role of adult learning. In his words he sought for the CAAE and for Canada "to combine learning and action in a way no society [had] ever done before" (Selman 1983, p.17). He also aspired to move the CAAE into the forefront of national affairs, that is, to attach learning to all matters of public policy (personal communication, Mar.10,1982).

To these ambitious tasks, Thomas devoted tremendous energy, countless trips back and forth across the country, and impressive quantity of conferencing, public speaking and writing, and a quality of sustained personal communication which anyone involved in these events found truly impressive. During the 1960s, a time when the federal government was providing strong leadership in education and social policy generally, Thomas led the creation of an integrated adult education organization as well. In a period when it seemed worth striving for, Thomas spoke to Canada of a national policy for adult education and of a central place for adult learning in Canadian society.

Such was the courage and range of the man. The wonder was not that his goals were not fully realizable, but that he dared to reach for them.

By the late sixties, a national time of "agitation", as our cultural historian has termed it (Ostry 1978), the forces of populism and the shift in power in Canada from the national to the provincial level, began to be felt in the CAAE, as they were in the broader society. Some of the key figures in the Association became disenchanted with the form of organization which had been built up and began to argue for a change. It was decided to disband the divisional structure and adopt instead a more grassroots, participatory model. It was the end of an era for the CAAE, as it soon proved to be for Canada too.

As the country entered the seventies, a period of strong centrifugal forces in Canadian Confederation, Thomas' concept of a comprehensive national policy concerning adult education seemed a remote hope. It is probably fair to say that this element of his message was the one which had been least understood at the best of times by his colleagues and generally did not receive strong support from the provincial divisions.

However, his vision of the learning society and his emphasis on the power and primary importance of learning, as distinct from education, was to have lasting impact. For many adult educators in Canada, Thomas' ideas about learning provided a fresh and inspiring view of their task and its relationship to individual and social betterment. It prepared many to understand and enter into the discussion of lifelong education and related concepts which gained prominence in the early seventies in Canada, and in the international community.

And Thomas' ideas had lasting impact on the CAAE as well. After a time of difficulty and general ineffectiveness for a few years in the early seventies, the organization found its feet again by the middle of the decade. Beginning in the fall of 1974, Thomas served for four years as the President of the CAAE. By this time, he had returned from Ottawa to Toronto to become Chairman of the Adult Education Department of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. He and the new Director of the Association, Ian Morrison, were chiefly responsible for reviving the fortunes of the organization and for setting it back on the path of advocacy for the learning society and the adult learner, a thrust which the organization has maintained to the present day. So while the form of the organization adopted by the CAAE at the time of Thomas' departure in 1970 was other than what he had created during the decade of his leadership, the basic views he had conceived and promoted about adult learning were to stand the test of time, were reinforced by educational leaders from many parts of the world in the years to follow, and provided the guiding ideas for the CAAE itself up to the present day.

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